HISTORY

OF

MALAYALAM LANGUAGE

(Revised versions of fifteen papers presented in the Seminar on 'History of Malayalam Language' conducted by the Department of Malayalam, University of Madras from 7 to 11 December 1981)

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MALAYALAM LANGUAGE

Edited by

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PREFACE

The Department of Malayalam, University of Madras organized a five-day seminar on the 'History of Malayalam Language' from 7 to 11 December 1981 with the financial assistance from the University Grants Commission The present volume contains the revised and edited versions of fifteen papers presented in the seminar which survey the history of the development of Malayalam language in general and certain other more specific aspects of language history in particular

There are at least three approaches for the reconstruction of the history of a language. (1) Period-based Approach. The justifying assumption for this approach is that the chronological continuance of the history of the language can be recorded only along the time-scale. But it is well-known that historical changes do not take a unidirectional course like a single streamlet, instead, history at every stage consists of myriads of zig-zagging streamlets and rivulets to form into a mighty river Accordingly, the period-based approach has to take into consideration several heterogenous phenomena at each single stage which is likely to present a cumbersome picture. (2) Genre-based Approach. The justifying assumption for this approach is that the developments of linguistic expressions in genres are not uniform, hence, the examination of language history separately in each genre becomes a prerequisite for the overall reconstruction of

the history of the language at a particular period But, though the details of the history of linguistic features in each genre can be made more explicit, the integration of the co-ordinating factors presents serious problems in this approach (3) Category-based Approach The justifying assumption for this approach is that the transformations of each grammatical category in the language along with its varying implication at each stage of its history can be clearly shown by this method But the tracing of the histories of individual grammatical categories on the basis of the principles of external and internal methods of reconstruction does not by itself help us to formulate the total evolutionary history of the language Consequently, this approach fails to give us a coherent and interrelated comprehensive picture

All the three approaches, as we have seen above have their own strengths and weaknesses Hence, there is no ideal method for the reconstruction of language history. In the present volume most of the papers are prepared from the point of view of the second approach mentioned above. As such, we do not claim that the fifteen papers included here collectively present a chronological, albeit brief, history of the language of Kerala Nonetheless, since we have for the first time a near-overall view of the history of Malayalam language through successive stages we hope that the volume will be welcomed as a significant reference work by the students as well as by the scholars at large

The recorded direct reference to Malayalam language dates back to the fourteenth century Sanskrit work on the *maṇipravāḷa* style of diction, *Līlātilakam*, wherein the anonynous author discusses, with much fumes eminating from it rather than light, the independence of the language of Kerala and its distinctive characteristic which distinguishes the same from its genetically closer member of the Dravidian family the *cōḷabhāṣa* (viz. Tamil). The very fact that such a discussion had a relevance to the scholarly circle of those times indicates the fluid state of the Kerala language during the fourteenth century Signifi-

cantly, a century after we have the appearance of *Kṛṣṇagātha* which has rightly been recognized as the first representative poetical work of the developed Malayalam language The course of the history of the poetic expression since then was smooth with no noteworhty changes along its path But the language of prose till the middle of the nineteenth century showed an unsteady gait Thereafter, taking fast strides Malayalam prose underwent far-reaching transformations, the native pedantic style blending with the down-to-earth Early Christian Missionary Prose and subsequently imbibing the subtle nuances of the English prose style

Since *Lilatilakam,* and before the appearance of Caldwell's monumental treatise on Dravidian, there were no direct references to the history of the westcoast language in any published work Caldwell's influence on later-day Malayalam scholars was so marked that subsequent studies were all based on his thesis, either by refuting his 'offshoot theory' or by modifying it or by totally subscribing to the crux with minor reservations about the details The post-Caldwellian Malayalam studies were fragmentary and scattered A R. Rajaraja Varma, L. V Ramaswamy Ayyar, K Goda Varma, Ilamkulam Kunjan Pillai, K M George, C L Antony, P V Velayudhan Pillai and a few others made significant contributions to this field

The establishemt of a department of linguistics in Annamalai University in the early sixties and another in Kerala University a few years later paved way for fresh investigations on languages as a result of which several descriptive analyses of ancient and medieval literary texts in Malayalam have been produced as Ph D. dissertations Only a few of them have come out in print We have thus descriptive studies on *Rāmacaritam* (there are actually three studies on the language of this ancient Malayalam text, each one differing from the other in methodology and scope), *Kaṇṇaśśarāmāyaṇam, Kṛṣṇagātha, Bhāratam* (by Tunchat Ezhuthachan) *Tuḷḷalkṛtikaḷ* (by Kunchan Nambyar), *Anantaṛuravarṇanam and Vāsudevastavam* (early Maṇipravala works), *Aśōkavanikānkam āṭṭaprakāram* (a guide for the

performance of *Kūṭiyāṭṭam* writen in *maṇipravāḷa* style) besides three critical studies on *Līlātilakam* and a study of Malayalam inscriptions All these offer abundant materials for the reconstruction of the early and medieval periods of the development of Malayalam language Most of these studies are referred to by the authors of the papers included in this volume. Despite all the above partial attempts, no comprehensive history of the language has been written so far The importance of the present collection of papers, therefore, has to be highlighted as, though lacking connecting links, we have here a fairly near-exhaustive picture of the history of Malayalam language between two covers.

In any collection of this type, we cannot ensure uniformity in respect of methodology, scope and style. The editor of this volume has not interfered with the opinions of the learned authors; his work was confined to exclude certain portions which were obviously repetitions and to effect certain touches for the sake of clarity It is hoped that the users of this volume would be good enough to send their suggestions for a better presentation of the contents in future editions.

I am grateful to Miss. K. Sreekumari (Ph.D. student, Department of Malayalam) for editorial assistance and to Mr. G. Soundararajan (Superintendent, O.R.I.) for secretarial help.

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8 OCTOBER 1984.

1

S. V. SHANMUGAM

Malayalam in Dravidian

1.1. Position of a language in a family:

The position of a language within a linguistic family is mainly concerned with the pre-history of that language. The pre-history of a language subsumes two different aspects: (1) common innovations which that language shares with other closely related languages of the family and (2) the independent innovations taken place within that language Only on the basis of the latter, the independence of a language can be determined. The subgrouping of a language family is based on the common innovations shared by member languages and not on the basis of the geographical contiguity It should be pointed out that the archaic features retained in a language are not given any

importance by the comparativists because one of the basic assumptions of the comparative grammar is that each branch or each language bears independent witness to the forms of the parent language (Bloomfield, 1933 310)

1 2 Position of Malayalam – Historical review

The position of Malayalam in Dravidian is not an explorative study since the same had been discussed ever since the beginning of the Comparative Dravidian Studies Of course, Caldwell, the father of the Comparative Dravidian, had first pointed out the relation between Tamil and Malayalam in terms of kin relationship and they are too well known to be repeated here But the point to be noted here is that the concept of subgroup in general and subgroup in Dravidian in particular was not developed till 1950's (Krishnamurti, 1969) Caldwell had only talked in terms of close or distant relation among the languages

The contribution of Rajaraja Varma, the author of *Kēraḷapāṇinīyam* is worth noting Even though he had accepted the view of Caldwell, he tried to be more specific to trace the evolution of Malayalam, i e pre-historic and historic developments In the pre-historic development, he had given more instances of independent innovations in Malayalam (Caldwell had given only one, the loss of personal terminations). He was the first to point out the archaic features of Malayalam not shared by Tamil and to discuss the socio-cultural and geographical features responsible for the development of Malayalam as a separate language Unfortunately, the right direction shown by him has not been seriously followed by the later Malayalam scholars Some isolated cases of relationships among the Dravidian languages were discussed earlier, but a more systematic and thorough examination of the problem of subgrouping in Dravidian had to wait until the beginning of the second half of this century (for details see Subrahmanyam, 1971 · 505–531) This will explain why L V. Ramaswamy Aiyar, in spite of his excellent work in Comparative Dravidian in

general and the detailed historical study of Tamil and Malayalam in particular, had not discussed the common innovations shared by Malayalam with other South Dravidian languages However, his detailed historical investigation categorically leads us to the conclusion that "except for a very few archaisms the features of Malayalam morphology are directly related to, or immediately derivable from a stage of speech corresponding to what may now be described as Early Middle Tamil" (1936 148)

Caldwell had noted that Gundert, while accepting the close relationship between Tamil and Malayalam was unwilling to consider Malayalam as an offshoot of Tamil (Caldwell, 1875 20) Native scholars like Attoor Krishna Pisharodi, Goda Varma and K M George have not accepted either the view of Caldwell or the modified views of Rajaraja Varma and L V Ramaswamy Aiyar, instead they proposed that Malayalam had an independent historical development in the sense that it is a direct descendent of the primitive Dravidian This may partly be due to ethnocentrism and partly to counteract the extreme views held by the Tamil scholars For instance, M Srinivasa Ayyangar held the view that 'Malayalam was in her (Tamil) womb prior to the 13th century' (quoted in George, 1956 43). Two other popular opinions in Tamil are as follows (1) Tamil became Malayalam because of the excessive borrowing from Sanskrit in the Chera country (Somale, 1968 95, Sivagnanam, 1970 10), (2) Malayalam first became a dialect and then an independent language because the grammatical rules were not strictly followed in it (Paranthamanar, 1972 47) However, Vaiyapuri Pillai had discussed the problem in a dispassionate and scientific way (1956 138–160) and his views are closer to L. V Ramaswamy Aiyar's.

One of the ways to understand the position of Malayalam in Dravidian and the type of genetic relationship it holds with Tamil is to examine the common innovations that are shared by Malayalam with other languages in the subgroup of South Dravidian and also the independent innovations occurred in it,

with a view of integrating them in the correct historical perspective.

As for the development of the general comparative studies and Malayalam historical linguistics with special reference to our topic, the following are the significant contributions. Emeneau (1957) is the first to show the various sub-subgroups of South Dravidian on the basis of the innovations of the past tense markers, the inadequacy of the tree diagram indicating the deficiency of 'split-process' and also the importance of a three dimensional diagram of South Dravidian establishing the significance of 'wave-process'. Kamil Zvelebil (1968), Govindan Kutty (1972) and Shanmugam (1968, 1976) studied this problem from the historical and comparative points of view. On the basis of the above researches, an attempt is made below to show the various sub-groups of South Dravidian, the common innovations which Malayalam shares with other languages and the independent innovations of Malayalam. The common innovations of Malayalam with other South Dravidian languages will be useful to dispel the myth that Malayalam is the direct descendent of the Proto-Dravidian.

At the moment, at least twenty six languages are claimed as belonging to the Dravidian though a few more have been proposed with sparsely collected data. Tamil, Malayalam, Kodagu, Kota, Toda, Irula, Kasaba, Pania, Kattunayka, Kurumba, Koraga, Kannada, Tulu, Telugu, Kui, Kuvi, Gadaba, Koya, Kolami, Parji, Pengo, Manda, Naiki, Kurukh, Malto and Brahui are the twenty six languages known at present.

Dravidian has three major sub-groups, viz., North, Central and South. Since Malayalam belongs to the South Dravidian, the sub-groups of the South Dravidian alone are considered here. Since we are not in a position to fix the exact relationships of the newly added languages (Irula, Kasaba, Pania, Kattunayka, Kurumba and Koraga), our discussion will be restricted to Tamil, Kodagu, Kota, Toda, Kannada and Tulu only.

1 3 Common S Dr Features :

The languages included in the South Dravidian are considered as belonging to one group not because they are spoken in the southern part but because of the common innovations they share They are (1) the loss of initial c—, (2) the operation of i/e and u/o alternation and (3) the creation of feminine category in the third person pronoun and also in the finite verb, etc (for full details, see Shanmugam, 1976). This sub-group diverged as follows Tulu separated first, followed by Kannada and Kota-Toda and lastly Kodagu This means that there was a common period of development for each group of languages after the separation The three stages of development can be envisaged as follows (1) Proto-Ta Ma Kod Ko-To Kan, (2) Proto-Ta Ma Kod and (3) Proto-Ta Ma The common innovations are listed in Shanmugam, (1976) Each of these sub-groups had certain historical developments Accordingly, Malayalam cannot be considered to have diverged from the Proto-Dravidian independently

1 4 Proto–Tamil–Malayalam :

The following are the common innovations that had taken place in Tamil-Malayalam which indicate a common period of historical development for these two languages

(1) The change of k > c before front vowels when not followed by retroflex sounds

**kevi*	>	*cevi*	'ear'
**keru*	>	*ceru*	'small'
**kilai*	>	*cila*	'some'
**kitar*	>	*citar*	'scatter'

(2) The change of Proto–Dravidian *o/*e when followed by the derivative suffix beginning with the vowel –a into u/i

		(Ta)		(Ma)	
**koc*	>	*kuyavan/ kucavan*	—	*kuyavan/ kucavan*	'potter'
**per*	>	*pira*	—	*pira(kka)*	'to be born'

(3) The change of the Proto-Dravidian *-c-into-y-

		(Ta.)		(Ma.)	
**ucir*	>	*uyir*	—	*uyir*	'soul'
**pecar*	>	*peyar*	—	*peyar*	'name'
**vacaṟu*	>	*vayiṟu*	—	*vayaṟu*	'belley'

(4) The replacement of *pattu / nūṟu* by the words *nūṟu* and *āyiram* respectively in the words denoting 'ninety' and 'nine hundred'.

(Ta. Ma.)	*tonnūṟu*	—	*toḷḷāyiram*
(Kod.)	*tombadi*	—	*ombaynūru*
(To.)	*enba*	—	*winbonūr*
(Ka.)	*tombattu*	—	*ombaynūru*

(5) The replacement of gender-number suffixes to certain nominal bases to denote the masculine and the feminine gender

(Ta.)		(Ma.)	
āyan	—	*āyan*	'shepherd'
valaiyan / valayan	—	*valayan*	'fisherman'
āytti	—	*ācci*	'shepherd woman'
valaytti	—	*valacci*	'fisher woman'
ciṟumi	—	*ceṟumi*	'young girl'

(The nominal bases are alone found in the other South Dravidian languages and the addition of gender-number suffix is a common innovation in both the languages.)

These innovations should have taken place in the pre-historic period of Tamil–Malayalam because the innovated forms are found in the earliest records of Tamil.

There is another set of common innovations which took place during the historic period of Tamil and is found in the early records of Malayalam. These are important as they show that both the languages were linguistically united in the early Christian era. Actually, this set of similar innovations prompted some scholars (especially, L.V.R.) to claim that Malayalam separated from Early Middle Tamil. But this view is not fully

correct, this problem will be taken up in the latter section of this paper At the same time, the non-consideration of these changes led Govindan Kutty (1972) to conclude that Malayalam has diverged from the Proto-Ta Ma stage of the pre-historic period His inference, therefore, is open to question

Common innovations in the historic period (1) The loss of initial y–

(Old Ta)		(Middle Ta)		(Mal)	
yāṟu	—	*āṟu*	—	*āṟu*	'river'
yāmai	—	*āmai*	—	*āmai / āma*	'tortoise'
yāṉai	—	*āṉai*	—	*āṉay / āṉa*	'elephant'

The forms with y– is found predominently in OTa texts but there are a few forms without y– Later, in Early Middle Tamil, more forms are attested with 'y' (Shanmugam, 1971b 37)

(2) The palatalisation of the past tense suffixes, –tt–and –nt– and the feminine gender suffix '–tti'

(OTa)		(MTa)		(Mal)	
vaitta	—	*vaicca / vacca*	—	*vacca*	'having placed'
vilaintu	—	*vilaiñcu*	—	*vilaññu*	'ripend'

In the same way, the palatalisation of the word for numeral five is found attested in Early Old Tamil

aintu	—	*aiñcu / añcu*	—	*añcu*	'five'
āytti	—	*āycci*	—	*ācci*	'shepherd woman'
iṭaitti	—	*itaicci*	—	*itacci*	

(3) The development of *mār* as the epicene plural marker is another common innovation, *makan* changed into *mān* in Old Ta (*kōmakan* > *kōmān* 'chieftain' – Kur 59 1, Aink 55 2, Patirru 8 2, etc , *perumakan* > *perumān*—Patirru 85 3, Kali 82 13) The corresponding plural marker (found as *makar* in Puram 324 3, Patt 3 56, 10 236) should have changed into *mār* in OTa and Mal (Shanmugam 1971a 42)

(4) The replacement of the inflectional increment *–an*–by–*in*– in the numerals and the demonstrative neuter singular pronouns

In Old Tamil, *-an-* was the inflectional increment used for both types of nouns:

(-an-)		(-in-)		(-in-)
iranṭaṉai	—	*iranṭiṉai*	—	*iranṭiṉe / ranṭiṉe*
itaṉai	—	*itiṉai*	—	*itiṉe*

(5) The development of *-kinru* as the present tense suffix is another development in Tamil which is shared by Malayalam. Malayalam has *-kkunnu / -nnu* as the common reflex of this in the standard language, There is, however, a view that the Malayalam present tense marker is more plausibly related to *-untu* (or, *-utu*) which is attested in Old Tamil. But the occurrence of another variant with the retroflex in many dialects, indicates that both *-kkunnu / -unnu* and *-kkuṇu / -uṇu* are derived from a single source (Kumaraswami Raja, 1976). In that case, two dialects would be different only in regard to the phonological rules; otherwise, they have to be different grammatically.

1.5. Common and Independent Innovations:

Līlātilakam had shown the differences of forms in *maṇipravāḷa* and *cōḷabhāṣa.* They are taken by George (1956:56) as reflecting the individuality of the Malayalam language as distinguished from Tamil. But Gopinatha Pillai (1972 : 56) has questioned the validity of George's inference on the ground that *maṇipravāḷa* was only the highly artificial literary language of that period. However, as there are the *bhāṣa* forms which form the first component of the *maṇipravāḷa*, the colloquial features cannot entirely be dispensed with from the *maṇipravāḷa* style. An historical investigation would reveal that some of the differences referred to in *Līlātilakam* are independent innovations and some others are common historical innovations in Tamil and Malayalam.

(1) The change of '*ai*' > '*a*' medially especially when followed by the palatal consonants:

The example given in *Līlātilakam* is *iṭaiyan* > *iṭayan*.

Tolkāppiam mentions about the two-*mātra* 'aı' being pronounced as one *mātra* in certain positions *Nēminātam*, another Tamil grammar of 12th century, says that 'aı' and 'a' are similar before c, ñ and y (i e palatal sounds) There are examples in OTa and Early Middle Tamil for the change of aı > a maıyal > mayal 'distress' (Puram 67 5, Patirr 62 7, Kurun 156 7, Cilampu 3 58) This free variation is also found in Middle Tamil aıntu > *aıñcu > añcu (App Te 4 18 5), vaıtta > *vaıcca > vacca (App Te 5 4 1)

(2) The absence of *āytam* in the demonstrative is found from the earliest records

(3) The change of *peyar* 'name' > *pēr* is also found in Old Tamil *peyar* > *pēr* (Aink 367, Pattu 6 156 Pari 3 39, Cilampu 4 16,59) This change has been extended to the verbal forms also

peyarttu 'having removed' > *pērttu* (Kural 359, Cilampu 3 38),
peyarvanal 'removed-she' > *pērvanal* (Akam 390 15),
peyaratu 'without removing' > *pēratu* (Kali 109–2)

These are found in Middle Tamil texts also Therefore, it cannot be taken as independent innovations in Malayalam

(4) Among the morphological changes the gender-number suffixes with the increment '*-an*' followed by the short vowel are reported as *cōlabhāṣa* forms and the forms without the increment and with the long vowel are ascribed as features of *Manipravāḷa* by *Līlātilakam*

(Tam)		(Mal)	
untanar		*unṭār*	'ate–they'
tiṉṟaṉar	—	*tiṉṟār*	'ate–they'

Similar change is found in the masculine and feminine forms also

–aṉan	>	*–ān*
–aṉaḷ	>	*–āḷ*

The forms with the increment and the short vowel are more common in OTa than the long-vowel forms but in Middle Tamil the long-vowel forms (*ān*, *āl*, etc) are more common (Chitraputhira Pillai, 1981) So, it is also incorrect to consider this as an exclusive innovation of Malayalam Perhaps this could be a dialectal change in Malayalam because the early inscriptions and literary texts have forms without the pronominal ending

One of the exclusive features noted by Rajaraja Varma, namely, the use of *-ān* as the future infinitive in the Modern Malayalam which is attested in Old Malayalam as *-vān* and *-mān*, was stated as the common innovation in Tamil and Malayalam by Ramaswamy Ayyar (1936 86) We find *-ppān* occurring in strong verbs in Early Malayalam (*kelppān*) and also in Old Tamil This could have changed into *-kkān* Since *-kk-* happens to be a link morpheme in several verb forms, the double consonant in *-kkān* could have been considered as *-kk-* (link morpheme) plus *-ān* (marker) Later the isolate *-ān* could have been extended to weak verbs also

Among the archaic features noted by L V Ramaswamy Ayyar (1936 143), the second person singular oblique form with *nin-* is the most predominant form in OTa. and *un-* is found only in a few instances This has first changed into *nun-* which is also attested and later into *un-*.

K M George (1956 95) refers to the change of geminated alveolar stop into dental stop in Tamil This change should have started in the Early Middle Tamil period. He has also listed several lexical items (ibid 209) from various literary works such as *Cilappatikāram*, *Nālāyirattivviyappirapantam*, *Tiruvācakam*, etc The literary attestation is sufficient to prove that they were once prevalent in Tamil and became obsolete in the later period So these are to be considered as instances of lexical changes in Tamil

Among the differences noted by K M Prabhakara Variar (1979 48) the merger of dental and alveolar nasals, the loss of phonemic distinction between flap and trill, loss of co-ordinate negative verb *alla* and the development of double plural *avarkaḷ* (this last form need not be considered as a loss in Malayalam) are historical changes in Tamil

Among the contrastive forms shown by *Līlātilakam,* the following features can be taken as independent innovations in Malayalam

(i) The nasalisation

(ii) ai > a in the word final position

(iii) ai > e especially in the accusative case

(4) *Līlātilakam* gives *āvinṟe, māvinṟe* as correspondences to Ta *āviṉatu* and *māviṉatu* But, as noted by George, the Malayalam genitive suffix should be equated with *–uṭai*

avan+uṭai > *avaṉṭay* > *avaṉṟe*

The alveolarisation of the retroflex stop was due to progressive assimilation

(5) Palatalization has also been suggested as one of the distinguishing characteristics of *kēraḷabhāsa* by *Līlātilakam* Thus, according to him the non-palatalized forms shown below are *cōḻabhāṣa* items while the corresponding palatalized forms belong to *kēraḷabhāṣa*

aṟintēn	—	*aṟiññēn*	'I knew'
maṭintu	—	*maṭiññu*	'having folded'
vaittoru	—	*vaccoru*	'the one which is placed'

(6) At least in the case of neuter singular past tense finite forms, *Līlātilakam* has noted the absence of personal endings in *kēraḷabhāsa*

kāyiṟṟu	—	*kāvi*	'cried–it'
tāyiṟṟu	—	*tāvi*	'jumped–it'

It is not clear whether the loss of personal endings started first in the neuter singular forms and only later, the same was extended to other forms Rajaraja Varma has observed the loss of the personal endings as one of the major distinctive features of Malayalam Since the comparative Dravidian verb morphology shows the existence of personal endings at the Proto-Dravidian stage (Subrahmanyam, 1971 403), the absence of personal endings cannot be considered as the retention of the proto-feature

(7) As a result of the above morphological change, a phonological change had taken place in Malayalam Since there was no phonological difference between the verbal participle of *ceytu* pattern and the finite verb, they began to be differentiated by the final vowel which was full short /*u*/ in the case of finite verbs and centralised lower mid vowel /ə/ in the case of verbal participle Therefore, / ə / developed as a separate phoneme in Malayalam

(8) Another independent phonological innovation especially in the morphophonemic level is the development of -ə as the dative marker after the nouns ending in '-n' or nouns taking '-in-' as the augment

1 6 Archaic features of Malayalam

Among the forms listed by Rajaraja Varma (1974 64 66) as retentions of archaic features in Malayalam, only the plural imperative forms with *-pin* / *-vin* / *-min* can be considered as relics of proto-features L V R adds to the above three more (Ramaswami Ayyar, 1936 143) Govindan Kutty (1972) cites two more forms the preservation of initial palatal nasal in some words and the preservation of consonant clusters-*lkk*- which became *-rk-* in Tamil Similarly, the preservation of *-lkk*-cluster can also be noted in Malayalam while it is changed into *-ḷk-* in Tamil. Two more features are noted by Shanmugam (1976): the preservation of the sequence of *ca*-in the past tense form *cattu* from the base *ca-* 'die' instead of *cettu* in

Tamil, (*cattu* is found in all other languages in South Dravidian and Central Dravidian) and the retention of the masculine gender suffix *–kkan* in most of the languages including Malayalam (which has changed to *–van* / *–yan* in Old Tamil)

(Ma) *mutukkan* 'old person' (Ta) *mutuvan* / *mutiyan*

These are archaic forms preserved even in the prehistoric period of Malayalam because Tamil earliest records show the changed forms only

1 7 Conclusion

1 Tamil and Malayalam shared common innovations with other Dravidian languages in the pre-historic period

2 They also had exclusive common innovations as well as some more common changes in the historic period of Tamil and in the pre-historic period of Malayalam

3 Tamil had some independent changes in its pre-historic period, and also in the historic period, Malayalam preserved the archaic features in both these cases

4 Malayalam had independent innovations in its pre-historic period

The significance of (1) and (2) points to the fact that Malayalam cannot be said to have directly diverged from Proto-South Dravidian The proposition that Malayalam directly diverged from the Proto-Dravidian is, therefore, farther away from truth (2) also signifies that Tamil and Malayalam separated during the period of Early Middle Tamil and this is supported by (3) and (4) In the development of Tamil and Malayalam 'split-process' as well as 'wave process' were simultaneously in operation

If so, the following questions crop up How could the independent innovations occur in the historically later period in Malayalam? And, how could Malayalam, after becoming independent, share the common innovations with Tamil? To

answer these questions, it is necessary to look into the functional aspects of the language against the background of its socio-cultural history

Regarding the appearance of Tamil works from Kerala in the early period, George makes the following observation "Most of the writers in question were either kings or their poets and they probably thought it fit to compose poems in Tamil, which had already attained a high standard as a literary language There is evidence to show that Tamil was the language of administration as well" (George, 1956 51) But it would be an exaggeration to consider that all Kerala poets belonging to the ancient Tamil country were court poets Therefore, it can be postulated that the standard literary Tamil which was being used in Kerala in those times should have had some more social functions in addition to being the language of administration Tamil could have been the widely accepted literary language even though the spoken language was different This situation should have continued upto the 9th century when the impact of Sanskrit became strong and the erstwhile linguistic situation began to change The introduction of Sanskrit through the migration of Aryans first in the early pre-Christian era and later in the post-Christian era elevated its status to the language of the scholarship and literature for the Brahmins and subsequently for the *traivarnika* also That is why we have Sanskrit works from Kerala in pre-historic period of Malayalam

From about the fourth to the sixth century, the 'pre-historic Malayalam', which existed as the spoken medium only, was co-existing with two powerful languages, namely, Tamil and Sanskrit The absence of a strong socio-cultural motivation also contributed to the pre-historic Malayalam remaining with the limited function of spoken communication The reference to the existence of a *paccamalayāḷam* (pure Malayalam) school in those times by George (1956 12) as evidenced by proverbs, riddles and folk-songs is more or less hypothetical Firstly, the

present forms of the folk-songs do not indicate their existence in the remote past as they are now Just like the spoken dialect, folk songs also would have changed but for certain idiomatic expressions Therefore, the folk literary tradition cannot be considered as a separate literary movement Of course, the first available sophisticated literary work in a language is not the beginning of literature as such It should have been preceded by other works lost to oblivion At the time of *Rāmacaritam,* which is supposed to be the first among available literary works in Malayalam, the Malayalam language seems to have had a 'bimodal standardization' Thereafter, due to the increasing social functions, Malayalam should have strengthened its roles in almost all spheres of communication The above discussion reveals that the pre-history of Malayalam or the position of Malayalam in Dravidian cannot be explained in a simple and straightforward manner

2

K. UNNI KIDAV

Split - How and When?

2.1 Introduction

Kerala's ancient history, political as well as cultural is problematic. Consequently, the history and the formation of *kēraḷabhāsa* – Malayalam language – is replete with unsolved problems Sanskrit and Tamil existed from time immemorial in parts of Kerala It is one of the few areas in India where Sanskrit education was traditional among several castes Even though Sanskrit education was popular, the study of philosophy through the Vedic language was prohibited among lower castes. So the lower castes who wanted to study philosophy could do so only through the medium of Tamil. Pattanār, who claimed himself as a disciple of Śrī Śaṅkara, translated *Gīta* into

Tamil for Mādhavan of Kaṇṇaśśa family who in turn translated it into Malayalam. Thus, two great languages influenced Malayalam since centuries ago. Later, Syrian Christians, Jews and Arabs came to the West Coast and settled in Kerala. Their languages also influenced Malayalam. But Tamil had an advantage over others. It had been the official language in Kerala for centuries. As stated by Caldwell, all along the Malabar coast Tamil intertwined with Malayalam: "...the Malayalam people continue to be of all Dravidians the most exclusive and superstitious, and shrink most sensitively from contact with foreigners. Hence the lines and the centres of communication have been occupied, and a considerable portion of the commerce and public business of the Malabar states has been monopolised especially in Travancore by less scrupulous and more adroit Tamilians" (Caldwell, 1956 : 16). This status and position of Tamils had some linguistic repercussions. The status enjoyed by Tamil in Kerala extended even to the close of the previous century. It is significant that a Malayalam journal had to publish a note of protest against the insistence of the then - administrators that applications to the authorities must be written in Tamil (Raman Nair, 1959 : 24).

Several languages and cultures co-existed in Kerala. These languages formed bilingual, trilingual and multilingual literatures: (i) *Maṇipravāḷam* - mixture of Malayalam and Sanskrit, (ii) *Pāṭṭu*- mixture of Malayalam and Tamil, (iii) *Miśra* - mixture of Malayalam, Sanskrit and Tamil, (iv) *Aṟabi-Malayāḷam* - mixture of languages like Malayalam, Arabic, Persian, Urdu, Tamil, etc., (v) *Suṟiyāṇimalayāḷam* - Malayalam and Syriac. This linguistic background was unique in Kerala. This resulted in mutually exclusive and contradictory views among scholars in regard to the theories of origin and evolution of Malayalam language.

2.2. Malayalam Originated from Sanskrit ?:

The theory that Sanskrit is the mother of all languages prevailed all over India. Telugu Grammar, *Āndhra—bhāṣā-*

bhāṣaṇamu in its verse 13 accepts that Sanskrit is the mother of all languages Even the commentator of *Vīracōḻiyam* states that "as Sanskrit words are the mother of all Tamil words, all usages in Sanskrit are obtained for Tamil also" (Perumtevanar, 1970 67) There were several scholars in Kerala who held this view The author of *Līlātilakam* specifically echoed the traditional view Vatakkunkur Raja Raja Varma discussed this theory recently quite elaborately Though this view still persists, "Opinions of this kind are not entertained by contemporary Malayalam Scholars" (Prabhakara Variar, 1979 48) The same can be said regarding the theory of Prakritic origin of Malayalam

2 3 Mutual Relationship of Aryan and Dravidian

Though Ravi Varma did not explicitly subscribe to the theory of Sanskritic origin, he did put forth several instances which apparently indicate the strong affinity between Sanskrit and the Kerala language (Ravi Varma, 1970) The first part of his work demonstrates how the Brahmi script evolved into South Indian and Nagari scripts It is an accepted theory now In the second part of the book, 570 Malayalam roots are equated with corresponding Sanskrit roots and 100 Malayalam names with Sanskrit parallels are listed with some etymological notes Ravi Varma can be considered as a Malayalam counterpart of the Telugu scholar C Narayana Rao, the author of several books including 'The History of Telugu language and Literature' (in Telugu) and 'An Introduction to Dravidian Philology' In this connection we can also mention the name of the Tamil scholar R Swaminatha Ayyar who tried to establish the common genetic source for Aryan and Dravidian languages (Swaminatha Ayyar, 1975)

2.4. Malayalam - A Mixture of Sanskrit and Tamil

āryadrāviḍavākjatā
kēralīyōktikanyakā

'*Kēralabhāṣa* is the result of the mingling of Sanskrit and Tamil' is an often-quoted half-verse of Kōvunni Netunnati He might not have known that there has already been a Tamil *maṇipravāḷanatai.* The mixing of Sanskrit and local language occurred not only in all the developed languages of India but even in the major languages of South East Asian countries

"Seeing the predominence of Sanskrit (in Malayalam) even authoritative authors confused and doubted that Malayalam was formed by mixing Sanskrit and Dravidian (Tamil)" (Rajaraja Varma, 1968 47) Elsewhere, he states that ' according to these rules Malayalam was formed by the mingling of Tamil and Sanskrit and this mixed language is still the literary language of Malayalam country" (ibid 89)

Elamkulam P N Kunjan Pillai was of the opinion that Malayalam was formed by mixing Sanskrit and Prakrit with the local language (Tamil) According to him, Kannada and Tulu had also contributed to the evolution This is a multi-mixture theory

Sanskrit and its culture penetrated into South India centuries before Christian era Earliest Tamil kings claimed that they were descendants of Aryan kings of North They performed Vedic sacrifices The earliest Tamil grammarian Tolkāppiyar is said to have been influenced by the Aindra system of Sanskrit grammar Indra, Varuṇa, Kubēra, Viṣṇu, Murukan (Kumāra) were the regional deities presiding over particular regions of the country Translations formed part of early Tamil literature These translations (cf Tol Porul S 643) might have been from Sanskrit or Prakrit Earliest available Tamil inscriptions are in the Southern Brahmi Script. Tamil inscriptions from the 7th century to the middle of 14th century had accepted many Sanskrit *tatsama* words. *Tirumantiram,* a Saivite work of Early Middle Tamil period states that there are fifty-one letters from 'a' to 'kṣa' in ancient Tamil (Verse 924)

2 5 Malayalam – an Offshoot of Centamil?

F W Ellis, who was a civil servant of the British East India Company at Madras, was connected with the 'college' at Fort St George He prepared a series of papers about South Indian languages, Telugu, Tamil, Malayalam, Kannada and Tulu Several of his papers have been lost His paper on Telugu was published as 'Note to the Introduction' of '*A Grammar of Teloogoo language*' by A D Campbell (1816) and the one on Malayalam was published in Indian Antiquary (November 1878 pp 274–87) His thesis is that Malayalam is an offshoot of *centamiḻ kotumtamiḻ* is another offshoot He was of the opinion that Tulu is a dialect of Malayalam Burnell who edited this paper on Malayalam, in a foot-note indicated that this view could not be accepted (cf Kunjunni Raja, 1962 212–249)

2 6 Malayalam – Daughter of Tamil ?

Malayalam originated as a dialect of Tamil according to Caldwell (1956 18–19) He says "Originally, it is true, I consider it to have been not a sister of Tamil, but a daughter as a much-altered offshoot" (Ibid 19) Elsewhere, he states "From an examination of the words which they (the ancient Greeks) have recorded, we seem to be justified in drawing the conclusion, not only that the Dravidian languages have remained almost unaltered for the last two thousand years, but probably also that the principal dialects (vis Tamil, Telugu, Canarese, Malayalam, Tulu and Kodagu) that now prevail had a separate existence at the commencement of the Christian era, and prevailed at that period in the very same districts of the country in which we now find them" (Ibid 103)

Rajaraja Varma, the author of *Kēraḷapāṇiniyam,* tried to establish Caldwell's theory With several exceptions and contradictory statements it is difficult to give a full picture of the opinion of this great scholar His view was that Malayalam branched off from *kotumtamiḻ* at about the beginning of Kollam

era. He has enumerated the following six changes which marked off Malayalam from Tamil: (i) *anunāsikātiprasaram* (nasal assimilation) i.e. nasal + homogranic plosive is changed to nasal + nasal; (ii) *tālavyādēśam.* i.e. dentals > palatals (after palatal vowels and semi-vowels); (iii) *svarasamvaraṇam* (vowel contraction) i.e. (a) -u > -ŏ, (b) -ai > -a, etc.; (iv) *puruṣa-bhēdanirāsam* (rejection of person-markers in finite verbs); (v) *khilōpasaṅgraham* (retention of archaic forms); (vi) *aṅga-bhaṅgam* (mutilation of old forms).

The doyen of daughter-theory and the most persistant and prolific writer on the topic was L. V. Ramaswami Ayyar. In his numerous papers he reiterated that Malayalam branched off from what he calls Early Middle Tamil. His method of analysis was ingenious. Taking *Tolkāppiam* as representing Old Tamil on the one hand, and *Vīracōḻiyam* and *Nannūl* as representing Middle Tamil on the other, L.V.R. compares Malayalam forms with those of old and Middle Tamil parallels and concludes that the Malayalam forms mostly agree with those of Middle Tamil rather than Old Tamil. I have elsewhere (Unni Kidav, 1963) discussed at length L.V.R's defective methodology as well as his reliance on materials which are not absolutely authentic. The correspondences he cites in regard to third, fourth, fifth, sixth and seventh case markers are based on insufficient data. Likewise his contention that the use of plural marker, *kaḷ* was restricted to irrationals but in Early Middle Tamil this plural ending got extended to rationals also, is at best not substantiated by Old Tamil records. *Tolkāppiam* itself has at least two instances of *-kaḷ* occurring with rationals: *makkaḷ* and *vāyilkaḷ* In *Kalittokai* we have several instances of rational nouns cooccurring with *-kaḷ*: *aracarkaḷ*, *aivarkaḷ*, etc.

The dating of Tamil-Malayalam split by L.V.R. is worth pursuing. In his first published paper 'A Brief Account of Malayalam Phonetics' he stated thus: "The language spoken in Malabar, therefore, must even at a very early time have developed the tendency to disintegration from the Tamil branch

of main Dravidian stock to which it belongs There is excellent evidence to show that this tendency very rapidly matured about the 9th century A D " (Ibid 4) In another paper (Ramaswami Ayyar, 1929), however, the period of split has been fixed around 1000 A D Later, he modifies the earlier views and presents the problem more specifically as follows "Sangam Tamil may be conveniently called as Old Tamil, and the post-5th century-Tamil as middle Tamil Early Middle Tamil (from about the 5th century to 10th century) an examination reveals very clearly a remarkable closeness of affinity for Malayalam to Early Middle Tamil" (Ramaswami Ayyar, 1936 2) Elsewhere, in the same work, he seems to present his views more cautiously "The real position may have been this In the earliest centuries of the Christian era the West Coast speech and the language that was used in post-Sangam texts (ie Early Middle Tamil) were fundamentally alike, with of course few regional differences This speech (which was later employed in literature by the Śaivite and Vaiṣṇavite *bhaktas*) may have already been developed in the colloquial of the masses some time about the beginning of the Christian era Old Tamil which continued to be employed in the late Sangam texts may have by the time become a *Kunstsprache* In the East Coast, the living speech of the masses was used in the works of the Śaivite and Vaiṣṇavite saints after about the 5th century A D In the West Coast, about this period the colloquial was perhaps gradually evolving characteristic Malayalam features" (Ibid 144 f n) These inconsistencies show that L V R's views on the origin of Malayalam contain several loopholes and therefore, they cannot be accepted as such

Chandrasekhar's work (1963) is an analysis of 34 West-coast inscriptions claimed to belong to the 10th, 11th, 12th and 13th centuries His description is based on data which are not systemised What the author seems to attempt is presenting corroborative evidence for the views of L V R which have already been presented in his several articles pertaining to the topic

Therefore, this work, though ostensibly titled, does not give a clear picture of the evolution of Malayalam language

2 7 Other Observations

There were some attempts to apply lexico statistic method to the reconstruction of the periods of split of the Dravidian languages These investigations (Namboodiri 1965, Subramanion, 1974, Kameswari, 1976) are not noteworthy because the adequacy of the method for historical reconstruction has been seriously questioned by several linguists (especially, see Hockett, 1958 535 Robins, 1965 318, Leroy, 1967 82 and Lehman, 1965 10)

Other scholars who have either made pertinent observations regarding the early stages of Malayalam language or analysed old texts belonging to early and middle periods of the history are S K Nayar, K N Ezhuthacchan, K K Raja, N R Gopinatha Pillai, Putusseri Ramachandran, V R Prabodachandran and K Retnamma

2 8 The Formation of Malayalam A Proposal

Indo-European language family is divided into two groups as *kentum* and *śatam* languages on the basis of the palatalisation of initial k- Following this we can divide Dravidian languages also into two, let us name them as *key* languages and *cey*-languages Though this division is based on partial phonological change, it is possible to show that the groupings have more general relevance Consider the following data

(1) Ka *kiru*, Ta *ciru*, Te *ciru*, Mal *ceru.*

(2) Ka *gedalu*, Ta *cidal*, Te *cedalu*, Mal *cedalu* (lit *cital*)

(3) Ka *gili*, Ta *kili*, Te *ciluka*, Mal *kili*

The first two sets show the palatalisation in all the three *cey*-languages The third distinguishes Telugu from the other two

(4) Ka. *kire*, Ta. *kirai*, Te *kira*, *kire*, Mal *cira*

Here, Malayalam alone shows palatalisation

Let us find out some peculiarities between Telugu and Malayalam which are not shared by Tamil

(1) *c > s* "*k* changes into *ch* (*c*) or *s* As the Tamil, becomes *ch* (*c*) when doubled, and is represented in the alphabet by the equivalent of the Devanagari *ch*, the change of *k* into *ch* is identical with that of *k* into *ś* The former change appears in Telugu, the latter in Tamil" (Caldwell, 1956 151) In this respect Malayalam goes with Telugu eg Ka *kivi*, Ta *sevi*, Te *cevi*, Ma *cevi*

(2) *a > ai* (a) The word final *-a* is generally alike in Telugu and Malayalam but it changes to *-ai* in Tamil

Telugu–Malayalam	Tamil
tala	*talai*
bomma	*bommai*
cillaṟa	*cillaṟai*
ela (*ila*)	*ilai*

(b) MEDIAL -A-

Malayalam	Telugu	Tamil
iṟacci	*eṟaci*	*iṟaicci*
aṭakallu	*dakallu*	*aṭaigallu*
urakallu	*oragallu*	*uraikal*
ayyayyo	*ayyayyo*	*aiyaiyo*

(3) There is *āytam* in Tamil In Telugu and Malayalam it is absent

(4) SHORTENED I

What is called *kuṟṟiyal-ikaram* 'shortened *-i-*' was present according to *Tolkāppiam* in Tamil Telugu and Malayalam have no 'shortened *-i-*'

(5) INTERMEDIATE DEMONSTRATIVE– 'U'

Among the *cev*-languages only in Tamil you get this intermediate demonstrative '*u*' In Telugu and Malayalam it is not found

(6) GLIDE 'Y' AFTER -A

In vowel sandhi when final *-a* is followed by a morpheme with initial vowel, the glide *-y-* comes in Telugu and Malayalam whereas glide-*v*-occurs in Tamil

(7) DEMONSTRATIVES Ā AND Ī

"There are two demonstrative adjective pronouns namely *ā* 'that or those' and *ī* this or these' in Telugu" (Arden 1955 91) In this Malayalam agrees with Telugu but Tamil does not From *Tolkāppiam (eḻuttu* 209), we know that in the earliest known days of literary period of Tamil history, the demonstrative base with long *a* was extinct from common usage and had become an archaic literary form

(8) SECOND PERSON OBLIQUE 'UN'– OR 'UNN'–

The oblique form of the second person pronoun, *un-(n)-* of Tamil is not found in Telugu and Malayalam, *nin-* is common to both these languages besides *nī*-in Telugu and *ninn-* in Malayalam

(9) THE PRESENT TENSE SUFFIX '–UNN'–

The present tense suffix in Malayalam is *-unnu* like the *unn-* of Telugu *kottu-c-unn-ānu* 'I am striking' Caldwell tried to brush away this Malayalam-Telugu resemblance as illusory The Malayalam present tense marker can be connected to the *-untu* form occuring in Sangam literature

(10) THE RARE PLURAL SUFFIX '–L'

The rare plural suffix *-l* is an *ādēśa* (replacement) of *r* just like in Telugu according to Gundert's Malayalam Grammar (f n. 105) Tamil has no plural suffix *-l*

(11) TUṆIYU – TUNIVU

"Malayalam sometimes uses *ṇ* instead of *ṉ* e g *niṇakku*, to thee' instead of, but also in addition to *niṉakku* On the

other hand, it sometimes softens *n* to *ṉ* like Telugu eg *tuṉiyu* 'daring' instead of the Tamil *tuṉivu*" (Caldwell, 1956 15)

A more exhaustive comparison might reveal further similarities between the two languages These similarities do not, however, prove that Malayalam branched off from Telugu I have brought forth this only to claim that the existence of parallel linguistic features in Tamil and Malayalam, as meticulously pointed out by L V R, does not prove the latter's split from the former Therefore, the contention of L V R, quoted below, is a highly exaggerated claim "While I have pointed out above the parallalisms, I may also observe here that there is not one native feature of Malayalam phonetics or Malayalam morphology which can be shown to nearer related to any Dravidian speech than to Tamil" (Ramaswamy Avyar, 1936 140)

Varāhamihiran places the Drāviḍa tribe in the south-west, but mentions also an eastern settlement of the Drāvida, the distinction is evidently between the west and east coast civilizations This could also be taken as referring to the linguistic differences

2 9 Finite Verbs without Pronominal Suffixes :

The early split of Malayalam from proto-language was claimed by several scholars on the assumption that Proto-Dravidian verbs were without person-gender-number markers This is a much debated problem Not only Old Tamil but also Old Kannada grammars point out to an earlier stage of verbs without personal markers

".. As already stated, the Tamil Finite Verb structure reveals two strata, the earlier one which does not possess the pronominal suffixes and the later one which has the fully developed pronominal suffixes The terms earlier and later are used on the assumption that the pronominal suffixes are later developments as pointed out by Jules Bloch (1954 159) and

others *An older form* The form of the pattern *ceyyum* 'does' is one earlier form preserved (Caldwell calls it aorist) In Tamil the *ceyyum* form does not occur in third person human plural nor in first person and second person (TE 712) The form with the formative suffix *-ku* and *-tu* appears (TE 687) But in the form with these formatives in Kannada there is no such restriction in relation to the person Therefore, the restriction in the Tamil language is due to the survival of the old forms only in third person while the forms of the pronominal suffix drove the earlier form out of usage elsewhere" (Meenakshisundaram, 1965 27–28)

What happened in Tamil did not happen in Malayalam so the spoken Malayalam still preserves the earlier stage

2 10 Some Phonological features

(1) According to IC 9, third person neuter plural suffixes are *a*, *ā* and *va* In the earliest available Brahmi inscriptions we find *iva* with *-va/-a* "In one place at least we have this topic in the form of *iva* (*iva* – *ivai* 'these' of later times) (Meenakshisundaram, 1965 19)

ava 'those' is found in some compounds of Old Tamil *en-ava*, *nin-ava* (*Puṟam* 35-13) Due to the influence of palatal glide-y, the system of incorporating the glide to the base is found even in the cave inscriptions Thus *a*- ending words became *-ay* ending And in Tamil *ay* and *aiy* were treated alike So the final *a(y)* at the end of the words was treated as *ai(y)* Hence, *ava* 'those' and *iva* 'these' also became *avai(y)* and *ivai(y)*. As free forms we get only *avai* and *ivai* in Old Tamil.

Old Indo-Aryan loans ending in *-a* had the same fate. Skt. and Pali *sāṭa* changed to *āṭai(y)* in Tamil and *āṭa(y)* in Malayalam

(2) Word final *ā* was reduced to *a* in Malayalam Ta *ammā*, Ka Te and Ma *amma* 'mother' In sandhi contexts this *amma* becomes *ammay*

(3) TC 108 states that there are instances of the suffix *-a* used instead of *-ku* (dative), *-ai* (accusative) and *-an* (ablative) A poetical usage which is archaic indicates that second case *-ai* of Tamil also developed from an earlier *-a* of pre-Tamil Malayalam changed *-a(y)* into *-e-(y)* in second case But dialectically it preserves the older *-a* Gundert pointed out some literary instances where case suffix *-a* is used in Malayalam

(4) The change of *-a* or *-a(y)* to *-ai(y)* first occurred in medial positions, for the final *-a* became the medial *-a-* when the glide *y* was incorporated Tamil grammarians made a rule that *a* and *ai* are equal before palatals *c ñ* and *y* So we get several pairs of words with free variation of *-a-* and *-ai-* in old Tamil texts

aracan	—	*araican*	'king'
nirayam	—	*niraiyam*	'hell'
malayam	—	*malaiyam*	'name of a mountain'
amayam	—	*amaiyam*	'time'

In all the above cases the original Sanskrit words have the medial *-a-*

(5) Malayalam *-nn-*, came from a doubling of *-n* in sandhi *a* 'that' + *nāṭu* 'country' > *a-n-nāṭu* 'that country', or from an older *-nd-* *var-u* 'to come' + past suffix -t- / -d > *vant* / *vand* > *vannu* 'came' Similarly *or-(u)* 'one' + formative *-t-/-d-* > *on-t-/ond-* > *onnu* is noteworthy As already pointed out by Goda Varma, Malayalam inherited the dental *nn* from an earlier *nd* as in Kannada Tamil *ṉr* could change only to *ṉṉ*

2 11 Conclusion

A close examination of all correspondences between Tamil and Malayalam would reveal that most of the characteristic

features of Malayalam could be traced to the Proto-Dravidian or Proto-South-Dravidian or in some cases to Proto-Tamil-Malayalam stage The influence of Tamil over Malayalam was marked in later years resulting in several Tamil linguistic features superseding the indegenous features of the regional language. The literature and other written documents offer ample proof for this intrusion of an alien language into the Kerala language. It is perhaps this that has blinded many early? scholars to suppose a relative later split of Malayalam from Tamil.

3

NADUVATTOM GOPALAKRISHNAN

Sanskrit Impact on Malayalam

3.1. The Period of Pre-Līlātilakam

The earliest written document available in Malayalam goes back to the 9th century A.D The *Vāḻappalli* inscription of Rājaśēkhara is considered to be the earliest one we have in Malayalam. We find numerous *tadbhava* and *tatsama* Sanskrit words in this inscription While discussing the features of *Kēraḷabhāṣa*, *Līlātilakam* (LT) treates it under two heads *utkṛṣṭabhāṣa* (the upper class dialect) and *apakṛṣṭabhāsa* (the lower class dialect). By *utkṛṣṭabhāṣa*, the author of LT means the language of the upper class which includes the Brahmin, Kṣatriya and the other temple-centred castes. The abundant use of Sanskrit words may be the criterion for his classification

In his opinion, the language used in *manipravāḷa* should be that of the upper class Thus it is clear from LT and other literary works that the language of Kerala was immensely rich in Sanskrit words in the period under analysis The main literary genres in pre LT period are

(1) *manipravāḷam* (hereafter MP) and *Pāṭṭu*

(2) A standard prose as is evidenced by inscriptions

(3) A ludicrous prose of *cākyār kūttu, kaṭiyāṭṭam* and *nambiyān tamiḻu*

Now let us examine certain examples of each category which will enable us to trace the field of influence

3 2 Maṇipravāḷam

In appendix No 1 we come across many Sanskrit words with and without Sanskrit endings *udu*, *madaṇa*, *sandhyu*, *upanītam*, *bata*, *asyām*, *rajaṇyām*, *āśā*, *racayati* *mī*, *śayaṇa*, *śaśāṅkah*, *śarvvarnī*, *pūrvva*, *chalēṉa* *dhātri* *vikirati*, *padminīm* and *mama*

The language of *manipravāḷa* poetry is a harmonious blend of Sanskrit and Malayalam The literary style MP is not confined to poetry alone It is employed in prose and ordinary speech also In MP, Sanskrit can be used with or without Sanskrit declensions But at least a word must be there in a given passage with Sanskrit endings to acquire the status of MP (For full discussion on the language of *manipravāla*, see Sukumara Pillai in this volume)

3 3 Pāṭṭu

tarātalam (< *dharātalam* – 'earth'), *vāṇan* (< *bāna* – 'name of a demon'), *tāmam* (< *dhāmam* – 'delight'), *uraku* (< *uraga* 'serpent'), *caayi* (< *śāyi* – 'beded you') and *āganta* (< *ānanda* 'supreme delight') are some of the Sanskrit *tadbhava* forms found in songs (Appendix 2). Both *tatsama* and *tadbhava* forms of Sanskrit words were used. Those words which can

be written by Dravidian orthography is called *tatsama*. Thus in this song we come across *tatsama* forms such as *karam*, *purān*, *murāri*, *varam* and *param*. The use of *aṉantāpuram* (for *anantapura*) and *tara* (for *dharā*) illustrate the changes described in Tamil grammars among which two are prevalent in *kēralabhāṣa* (viz. lengthening and shortening). Forms like *alanta*, *pilanta* are due to resemblance of forms of *pāttu* to Tamil form.

Regarding the Tamilisms in *pāttu* works, L. V. Ramaswami Ayyar observes: "All this shows that the *pāṭṭu* referred to here was a literary form inherited by Malayalam from an ancient stage when the affinities of Malayalam to Tamil were far more intimate than at the time of *Līlātilakam*" (1972: 103). (For further discussion on the of *pāttu* works see Prabodhachandran Nayar in this volume).

3.4 Inscriptions

Vāḻappaḷḷi inscription (Appendix 3i) is the earliest written document elicited from Kerala in *vaṭṭeḻuttu* script (the script which was used for writing Tamil). *namaśivāya*, *śrī* and *rāja-rājādhirāja paramēśvara bhaṭṭāraka* are the pure Sanskrit words employed in this document. They were written in *grantha* script (the script used for writing Sanskrit). Sanskrit compounds like *rājaśēkharadēva* and *mātṛparigrah* were also found. Among *tadbhava* forms *tīṉāram* (< *dīnāram* – 'a gold coin'), *tanṭam* (< *danḍam* – 'penalty'), *pali* (< *bali* – 'oblation'), *kailāta* (< *kailāsa* - 'abode of Śiva'), *pūmi* (< *bhūmi* – 'earth') and *cankaran* (< *śankaran* – 'a name') are significant. Apart from this the influence of Sanskrit syntax is also seen in this inscription. In Sanskrit a conjunctive marker is sufficient to combine two or three components in a sentence (eg. *rāma*, *kṛṣna*, *gōvinda ca* – Rama, Krishna and Govinda). But in the syntax of Malayalam for every component a separate conjunctive marker is needed (for example *rāmaṉum*, *kṛṣṇaṉum*, *gōvindaṉum*). In the sentence, *nūṟṟaimpatiṉṭuṇi nellu mūṉṟu tīṉāramum*, as in Sanskrit, only

one conjunctive marker is used, though two are needed according to the native usage (viz... *nellum... tiṉāramum*). The use of the conjunctive marker of the Sanskrit convention was abandoned later in Malayalam.

Appendix 3 (ii) is an inscription from Thirukkaṭittāṉam dated 1064 A.D. *viyāḻam* (< *vyāḻam* – 'Jupiter'), *kumpa* (< *kumbha* – 'Acquarius'), *tirukkaṭittāṉam* (< *tṛkkoṭittāṉam* – 'a place name'), *paṭṭārar* (< *bhaṭṭa* – 'temple chief'), *kaṇṭa* (< *kaṇṭha*, – 'neck'), *kumaran* (< *kumāra* – 'a name'), *iyakkan* (< *yakṣa* – 'a celestial class'), *kōvintan* (< *govinda* – 'a name'), *taṇṭam* (< *daṇḍam* – 'penalty'), *urovaṇi* (< rohiṇi – 'Austrim') are *tadbhava* forms used in this document.

Appendix 3 (iii) is a copper plate of Śrī Vīrarāghava dated 1200 A.D. which contains the following *tadbhava* forms: *pūpāla* (< bhūpala – 'a name'), *śakravartti* (< *cakravarti* – 'emperor'), *iravi* (< *ravi* – 'sun'), *kōrttan* (< *govardhana* – 'a name'), *āti* (< *ādi* – 'beginning'), *irācya* (< *rājyam* – 'earth'), *caṉi* (< *śani* – 'Saturn'), *mākōtai* (< *mahodaya* – 'name of a city'), *maṇikkirāma* (< *maṇigrāma* – 'a merchant class'), *śaṃkhu* (< *śaṅkha* – 'conch shell'), *nakara* (< *nagara* – 'town'), *kōpura* (< *gopura* – 'tower'), *kirāma* (< *grāma* – 'village') and *ceṭṭi* (< *śreṣṭhin* – 'merchant class'); *tatsama* forms are also found: *hari, śrī, rāghava, pañca vādya, śarkkara, kastūri, viśeṣāt, candrāditya*. From the early documents analysed here, it is clear that the influence of Sanskrit is mainly on the lexical level. When we examine the inscriptions of South India, we see that almost all of them have a uniformity of style. Similarity of syntax, idiom and Sanskrit *tadbhava* forms can be found. In style and mode of presentation, they follow the Asoka edicts. Even the scripts in which they were written are said to be the developments of Brahmi scripts employed in Asoka edicts. Through the works of Jains and Buddhist monks, Sanskrit *tadbhava* forms penetrated into the vocabulary of South Indian languages. According to Caldwell, Jains were responsible for the currency of Sanskrit *tadbhava* forms in Tamil. At the same time,

Brahmins made use of Sanskrit *tatsama* forms in the *grandha* script It is, therefore, reasonable to attribute the introduction of Sanskrit words into Dravidian vocabulary to a period prior to 7th Cent A D The language of South Indian Inscriptions does not represent any region, caste or class It reflects the prevalent style of the administrative language of the time This further shows that the rules that can be postulated for the 'tadbhavisation' of Sanskrit words in Tamil can also be applied for the same in Malayalam and, to some extent, Kannada and Telugu

3 5 Theatrical temple arts

The theatrical temple arts like *kūttu*, *kūṭiyāṭṭam* and *pāṭhakam* contributed a highly sanskritised prose style in Pre-LT period *kūttu* is a religious dramatic monodrama while *kūṭiyāṭṭam* is a later form of *kūttu* with two or three characters In both *kūttu* and *kūṭiyāṭṭam* the characters use a ludicrous prose often blended with Sanskrit grammatical forms *pāṭhakam*, a one-man performance, came to the scene after 14th Cent A D In *kūttu* and *kūṭiyāṭṭam* clowns and female characters speak Prakrit or the lower class dialect (often common dialect of spoken language) Their language is a mixture of Sanskrit, Prakrit and Malayalam The audience of temple arts were *traivarnika* (upper class society), who could easily follow such a mixture

In Appendix IV (i) a portion of *Matrānka*, the earliest *āṭṭaprakāra* (a guide-book on *kūttu* and *kūṭiyāṭṭam*) available today is given *jāti*, *vākyam*, *parikramam*, *sphatika*, *praveśikam*, *modam*, *dhūḷi*, *modakam*, *abhyantaram*, *anyonyam*, *divasa*, *kim*, and *grandham* are the *tatsama* forms used in this sample text

Appendix IV (ii) is from *Śūrpaṇakhāṅka āṭṭaprakāram* (1200 A.D.) This text also exemplifies the flow of numerous Sanskrit *tatsama* forms into Malayalam While the inscriptional language is overloaded with *tadbhava* forms, the language of

temple theatrical arts is full of *tatsama* forms. That is, the frequency of *tatsama* forms is higher than that of *tadbhava* forms in the language of *kūttu*, *kūṭiyāṭṭam* and *pāṭhakam*. This shows that in the period of Pre-LT the upper class dialect of *kēraḷabhāṣa* was conspicuous with Sanskrit words and usages. The limitations of the *vaṭṭeḻuttu* script might have been partially responsible for this more frequent use of *tadbhava* forms.

Let us examine appendix IV (ii): *tukam* (< *suha*–'delight'), *tēyam* (< *deśa*–'village'), *rācciyam* (< *rājyam*–'country'), *nayaram* (< *nagaram*–'town'), *pratēyam* (< *pradeśam*–'country side'), *śaṉam* (< *jana*–'people'), *pariḷa* (< *pariṣa* – 'a set of people'), *kakkam* (< *kakṣa*–'armpit'), *pakkam* (< *pakṣa*–'side'), *vairākkiyam* (< *vairāgyam* – 'enmity'), *cīta* (< *sīta* – 'a name') *pāvam* (< *bhāvam* – 'disguise'), *cuntari* (< *sundari* - 'beautiful lady'), *takkāram* (< *satkāram*–'reception'), *pāviṭam* (< *prābhṛtam* - 'gift') and *vyañcaṉam* (< *vyañjanam* – 'condiment') are the *tadbhava* forms attested. Side by side with this, the tendency of using Sanskritised Malayalam words is also found: *karukhara* (for *karukara*), *paruphara* (for *parupara*), *kaṭukhaṭa* (for *kaṭukaṭa*) (all are onomatopoeic).

In *Nampiyāntamiḻu* (language of Nampiyars – a professional caste), otherwise called tamil of *mārddamgika* (drum beaters), *tadbhava* and *tatsama* forms are permitted. But this language is not MP since it lacks the accuracy of using Sanskrit words with Sanskrit declensions. *Nampiyāntamiḻu* was mainly used for *pāṭhakam*, a kind of elocution. A peculiar feature of this language is its lengthy sentence construction which recalls the style of *Kādambari* (a high sounded text in Sanskrit). This prose, however, had no relation to the colloquial language of that time. Nor has modern Malayalam prose derived from this.

3.6. Rules of 'tadbhavisation':

The rules of structural modifications in respect of Sanskrit loans, applicable to Early Malayalam are given below:

	(Sanskrit)	(Early Malayalam)	
		Initially	Medially
1	k	k	k, nk
2	kh	k	k
3	g	k	k
4	gh	k	k
5	n		n
6	c	c	c
7	ch	c	c
8	j	c	c/y
9	ñ	ñ	ñ
10	ṭ		ṭ, tt
11	th		ṭ, ṭṭ
12	d		ṭ, ṇṇ
13	dh		ṭ

		Initially	Medially
14	n		ṇ
15	t	t	t, tt
16	th	t	t
17	d	t	t
18	dh	t	t, tt
19	n	n	n, n
20	p	p	p, v
21	ph	p	
22	b	p, v	
23	bh	p	p v
24	m	m	m
25	y	y, ñ	y
26	r	φ	r, r
27	l	φ	l, l

		Initially	Medially
28	v	v	v
29	ś	c, ϕ	c
30	ṣ		ṭ
31	s	c, t	c,t,v,y
32	h	ϕ	k

(A) Examples

1	*akampa*	*akampanam*	'name of a demon'
	karma	*karuman*	'duty'
	śamkara	*caṅkara*	'Śiva'
2	*kheda*	*kētam*	'affliction'
	śekhara	*cēkaran*	'he who wears'
	mukha	*mukam*	'face'
3	*agati*	*akati*	'helpless'
	gaganam	*kakaṉam*	'sky'
	bhogi	*pōki*	'serpent'
4	*ghora*	*kōram*	'terrific–he'
	parigham	*parikam*	'an iron club'
	megha	*mēkam*	'cloud'
5	*angam*	*ankam*	'body'
	anguliya	*ankuliya*	'ring'
6	*cit*	*cittu*	'mind'
	acala	*acalam*	'immovable'
7	*chad*	*cati*	'deceit'
	iccha	*icca*	'desire'

8	*ajah*	*acan/ayan*	**'Brahma'**
	jagat	*cekam*	'world'
9	*jñānam*	*ñāṉam*	'knowledge'
	añjana	*añcaṉam*	'lamp black'
10	*kaṭaham*	*kaṭakam*	'a ring'
	uṣṭra	*oṭṭakam*	'camel'
11	*kaṇḍam*	*kaṇṭam*	'throat
	vasiṣṭha	*vatiṭṭan*	'name of a sage'
12	*tāṇḍav*	*tāṇṭavam*	'frantic dance
	akhaṇḍa	*akaṇṇa*	'whole'
	pīḍa	*pīṭa*	'suffering'
13	*āṣāḍba*	*āṭi*	'rainy season'
14	*rāvaṇi*	*irāvaṇi*	'son of Ravana'
	kṣiṇa	*kīṇam*	'weakness'
	karuṇā	*karuṇa*	'compassion'
15	*tapas*	*tava*	'penance'
	dūt	*tūtu*	'message
16	*sthāṇu*	*tāṇu*	'firm'
	mithila	*mitila*	'name of a country'
	nāthā	*nātā*	'Oh Lord'
17	*udara*	*utaram*	'belly'
	dik	*tica*	'direction'
	nadi	*nati*	'river'
18	*adhara*	*ataram*	'lower lip'
	dharaṇi	*taraṇi*	'earth'
	madhu	*matu/maṭṭu*	'honey'
19	*anuja*	*aṉucan*	'younger brother'
	nāśini	*nācini*	'destroyer-she'
	seṇa	*teṇa*	'army'
	śāvin	*cāyi*	'he who is lying'
20	*payodhi*	*payōti*	'sea'
	yūpa	*yūpa/yūva*	**'sacrificial post'**

	tapas	*tapam/tavam*	'penance'
	rūpa	*uruvam*	'form'
21	*phalaka*	*palaka*	'shield'
	sphaṭika	*paṭikam*	'crystal'
22	*bali*	*vali*	'offering'
	bala	*pelam*	'strength'
	kubera	*kuvēran*	'god of wealth'
23	*bhānu*	*pāṉu*	'sun'
	bhogi	*pōki*	'serpent'
	bhrū	*puruvam*	'eye brow'
	kalabha	*kalapam*	'mixture of perfume'
24	*madhu*	*matu*	'honey'
	mukha	*mukam*	'face'
	umā	*uma*	'wife of Śiva'
25	*yojana*	*yōcaṉa*	'a linear measure'
	yama	*ñaman/naman*	'God of death'
	āyās	*āyātam*	'exertion'
26	*śaram*	*caram*	'arrow'
	rūpa	*uruvam*	'form'
	urvaśi	*urvaci*	'name of a nymph'
27	*kuliśa*	*kulicam*	'thunderbolt'
	lanka	*ilanka*	'name of a country'
	khaḷa	*kalam*	'arena'
28	*vasiṣṭha*	*vatiṭṭan*	'name of a sage'
	vadana	*vataṉam*	'face'
29	*aśoka*	*acōka*	'a name of a tree'
	śaśi	*caci*	'moon'
	śakti	*catti*	'lance'
	sāta	*āta*	'cloth'
30	*ṛṣabha*	*iṭavan*	'name of a monkey'
	aśeṣa	*acēḻam*	'completely'

31	*sārathi*	*tārati*	'charioteer'
	sītā	*cīta*	'name of a lady'
	śreni	*ēṇam*	'steadfastness'
	asura	*avuṇar*	'demon'
	sahasra	*āyiram*	'thousand'
	nivāsa	*nivātam*	'dwelling'
32	*havis*	*avi*	'oblation'
	hara	*aran*	'Śiva'
	varāha	*varākam*	'turtle'

(B) *r* and *l* do not occur initially in old Malayalam In such cases} Sanskrit loan words are preceded by the vowel *a*, *i*, or *u* :

rājā	*aracan*	'king'
rāma	*irāma*	'a name'
lanka	*ilanka*	'name of a country'
rūpa	*uruvam*	'form'
lakṣa	*ilakkam*	'lac'

(C) Even if *y–* occurs initially, there are instances where the occurence of a prothetic vowel is found

yakṣa	*iyakkar*	'demigods'
yantra	*iyantira*	'mechanical'

(D) (i) The intrusive vowel *–i–* occurs if consonant cluster consists of stop + semivowel (SV)

prasādam	*piratātam*	'favour'
vrtra	*viruttira*	'name of a demon'
kratha	*kiruṭan*	'name of a demon'
brahma	*piramam*	'Brahma'

(ii) Intrusive vowel *–i–* occurs if cluster is in continuant + SV pattern

vyāsa	*viyātan*	'name of an epic poet'

(iii) If the cluster is in sibilant + SV pattern intrusive vowel *–u–* precedes

śruti	*curuti*	'fame'
śveta	*cuvēta*	'name of a demon'
svarga	*cuvarkkam*	'heaven'

(iv) The intrusive vowel *-i-* occurs if the cluster consists of a stop/nasal + SV

cakra	*cakkira*	'wheel'
sugrīva	*cukkirīva*	'name of a monkey'
vajra	*vaccira*	'a weapon'
citra	*cittira*	'a star'
nitya	*nittiyam*	'daily'
vidya	*vittiya*	'skill'
nidra	*nittira*	'sleep'
mādhuryam	*māturiyam*	'sweetness'
puṇyam	*puṇṇiyam*	'good deeds'
anyāyam	*aṉṉiyāyam*	'improper'
dūmra	*tūmmira*	'name of a demon'

(v) The intrusive vowel *-u-*occurs if the cluster consists of

(a) Stop + SV

tatv	*tattuv*	'truth'

(b) SV + Stop

garbha	*keruppa*	'pregnant'

(c) SV + SV:

gāndharvam	*kāntaruvam*	'that which is related to 'gāndharva'

(d) SV + Nasal

karṇan	*karuṇan*	'name of an epic character'
karmam	*karumam*	'duty'

(E) The following changes are also found to take place in the medial clusters of the Sanskrit loan words

(i) Gemination of the nasal in clusters

punya	*puṇṇiya*	'good deeds'
agamya	*akammiyam*	'that can't reach'

(ii) Devoicing and gemination

ayodhya	*ayōtti*	'name of a country'
arthitam	*arttitam*	'begged'
vajra	*vacciram*	'a weapon'
rudra	*uruttiram*	'fierce'
hastimukha	*attimukam*	'name of a demon'
aksara	*akkaram*	'letter'

(iii) The other correspondences of the medial clusters of Sanskrit loans in Old Malayalam are as follows

jyoti	*cōti*	'light'
sandhi	*anti*	'evening'
simha	*cinkam*	'lion'
iṣṭa	*iṭṭam*	'desire'
mastakam	*mattakam*	'head'

3 7 Main Features

The main features of affinities of Malayalam to Sanskrit in the period of Pre-LT may be listed as follows

(1) Introduction of non-dravidian sonants in orthography

(2) Current usage of *tadbhava* and *tatsama* forms of Sanskrit words

(3) The use of Sanskritised Malayalam words

e g *kattim* (knief), *kuñcibhi* (manes-by), *mātampinām* (barons-of), *kariṣu* (curries-in), *tatallire* (beat-they), *pinniṭethah* (leave behind-you), etc

(4) The use of conjunctive markers in Sanskrit style.

(5) The use of passive construction

(6) The agreement in adjectives and nouns.

(7) **Formation of compound words of Sanskrit and Malayalam**

(8) The lengthy sentence construction

(9) The employment of Sanskrit words with Sanskrit endings

(10) Case formations in the style of Sanskrit

(11) Introduction of literary forms such as *campu* works (in which poetry and prose are intermixed), dramas and *prabandha* (puranic narration in prose)

(12) Introduction of Sanskrit metres in poetry

(13) Institutions of Vedic studies attached to temples spread new ideas and related words alien to Malayalam such as astronomy, astrology, logic and Ayurveda

(14) Stories of the great Sanskrit epics reached every nook and corner of Kerala and went deep into the imagination of even the rustic folk

(15) The feminine gender suffix – *tti* can be derived from Sanskrit *strī* 'woman' In Pali *strī* becomes *itthi* It is through Pali, Malayalam borrowed the feminine gender suffix – *tti*

3.8 The Post–LT Period

In the post–LT period, the poetic language of Malayalam underwent tremendous changes through the works of Ceṟuśśēri Nampūtiri, Niraṇam poets and Punam Nampūtiri The language of prose also witnessed innovations in the works of Christian Missionaries *Kṛṣṇagātha* of Ceṟuśśēri is a product of North Malabar The language of this work is replete with the simplicity of colloquial dialect as well as the complex solemnity of Sanskrit *tatsama* words, sanskritised native forms are very rare But in the *Rāmāyaṇa campu* of Punam Nampūtiri, a contemporary of Ceṟuśśēri, we find the high–sounding MP style The prose employed in this text is comparatively simple when

compared to that of *kūttu*, *kūṭiyāṭṭam* and *pāṭhakam* The two different schools of MP and *pāṭṭu* found their first happy compromise in the works of the Niraṇam poets Niraṇam works use a standard literary dialect of Malayalam which through Eḻuttacchan and Kuñchan Nampyār evolved into the present day Malayalam literary language

The post–LT period also witnessed the influence of foreign languages such as Portuguese, French, Dutch and English Malayalam borrowed numerous words and usages from these languages New literary genres like novel, short story, essay and prose-poetry entered into Malayalam Sanskrit equipped Malayalam to receive new ideas and terms The result was that Malayalam ceased to be a building language and became a borrowing language A peculiar feature noticeable here is the decreased use of Sanskrit *tadbhava* forms But certain writers even tried to imitate Sanskrit style in their works This is satirized in an anonymous work called *Daurbhāgyamañjarı*

Modern Malayalam renounced the use of Sanskritised native forms Sanskrit words with native declensions are currently used In vocabulary, present - day Malayalam makes use of almost all Sanskrit words in poetry and prose Many place names are either Sanskrit or sanskritisations of native terms

The other existing features showing affinities of Malayalam to Sanskrit can be summarised as follows

(1) Sanskrit monosyllabic stems with final long vowels are used without change

strı	'woman'
gō	'cow'
śrı	'prosdenty'
bhrū	'eye brow'

(2) Word formation by adding Sanskrit suffixes with their own meaning *-kāra* (he who makes) and-*māṇam* (excessively) are commonly used

paṇi + kāra		*paṇikkāran*	'he who works'
koṭṭu + kāran		*koṭṭukāran*	'drummer'
āka + māṉam		*ākamāṉam*	'excessively'

(3) Compounds by adding Sanskrit and Malayalam words are quite common

śīla + kuṭa		*śīlakkuṭa*	'umbrella'
kuppi + kiṇṇam		*kuppikkiṇṇam*	'glass plate'
candra + kala		*candrakkala*	'crescent moon'

(4) Certain indeclinable forms are used in modern Malayalam without any change in meaning or form

svayamēva	'spontaneously'
adhavā	'otherwise'
svapṉēpi	'even in dream'
sarvatra	'everywhere'
tathā	'like that'
tadā	'then'
sarvadā	'always'
ēkadā	'once'
balāt	'by force'
cirāt	'without delay'
acirēna	'without delay'
ahō	'expression of wonder'
akasmāt	'suddenly'
añjasā	'then'
agrē	'in front of'
atīva	'very much'
atra	'here'
adya	'today'
adhunā	'now'
antarā	'without, in'
aparam	'other'
iti	'thus'
ēkatra	'at one place'
ēva	'such'
kimapi	'how much'

nahi	'never'
punah	'again'
purā	'in the beginning'
prāyah	'usually'
sapadi	'suddenly'

(5) Passive forms of sentence construction by adding an auxiliary verb *peṭuka*

eg *kṛṣṇena mṛgo hatah* > *kṛṣṇanāl mṛgam kollappeṭṭu* 'Animal is killed by Krishnan'

(6) The common people of Kerala have a tendency to pronounce sound with a nasal quality It may be due to the influence of Prakrit in which it is quite common to add any one of the nasal sounds, viz *ṅk*, *ññ*, *ṇ*, *m* to words

(7) Sanskrit derivative suffixes like – *tvam*, – *taram*, – *tanam* are current in Malayalam

gurutvam	'state of a teacher'
laghutaram	'most trifling'
adyataṉam	even today

It is worthwhile to note here that the influence of Sanskrit loan words in Malayalam displaced many indigenous words Most of such words have either become obsolete or degenerated as taboo words eg *kūti* (anus), *muññi* (face), *ūmpi* (having sucked), *mūñci* (having licked), *mayir* (hair), etc

3 9 Conclusion

Kerala had close contacts with Sanskrit speaking peoples from very early time In *Rāmāyana* and *Mahābhārata* there are references about Kerala. Even in Asoka edicts Kerala is mentioned The philologists are of the opinion that among South Indians only the brahmins of Kerala preserve the correct pronounciation of Vedic hymns. Institutions to teach *Ṛk*, *Yajur* and *Sāma* vedas functioned in Kerala from a considerable early period. Sections of brahmins are even now known as *ṛk vedi*,

yajur vedi or *sāma vedi* on the basis of the Veda they followed Eminent Sanskrit scholars and writers like Śaṅkara, Śaktibhadra, Śaṅkaranārayaṇa, Pūrṇasarasvati and Mēlpattūr have all been from Kerala It deserves special mention that Bhāsa's works which had long remained a mystery were discovered in Kerala The tradition of Āyurvēda treatment which has been widespread in Kerala may be traced to the Jain and Buddhist monks who rendered invaluable service to propagate ideas of Āyurvēda and Astronomy They could also contribute a lot of loan words to native tongue from Middle-Indo-Aryan languages The flow of loan words from Sanskrit reached its peak in the period of mixed language (Sanskrit and Malayalam) This mixed language was promoted by the brahmins and their attendants When the brahmins became the monopolists of temple-centred economic system, the art and literature of Kerala came under their sway They encouraged the study of Sanskrit by establishing centres for scholarly competitions The titles like *bhatta* were given away to those who succeeded in competitive arguments The kings of feudatories of the time were the patrons of art and literature The legend goes that there were eighteen and a half poets in the court of King Māṉavēda of Calicut All of them were masters of Sanskrit Puṉam Nampūtiri, who wrote poetry in Malayalam also was nicknamed 'a half poet' This was because of the inferior status allotted to works in the native tongue In short, Kerala provided the most favourable milieu for the dissemination of Sanskrit language and culture which came to influence the native language profoundly

In the modern period a few purists purposefully tried to write in pure Malayalam They avoided the use of all Sanskrit elements in language It is known as *paccamalayālam* movement The movement, however, did not take its roots here Some of our recent Malayalam poets have been trying to revive half-forgotten words of ancient native origin and colloquial idioms of the rustic people, by employing them in their literary

compositions In this they have achieved considerable success and many of these terms have not acquired widespread currency

The efforts of Government of Kerala to equip Malayalam as the administrative language of the State are commendable The newly coined technical terms have all been derived from Sanskrit and it may well be said that Sanskrit is once again having a strong grip on Malayalam It should not, nevertheless, be overlooked that the influence of Sanskrit on Malayalam, though all embracing, has never been very deep The influence has been chiefly lexical rather than grammatical

APPENDIX—I

Ceṟiyaccīcaritam

udunikaramaḻuttāy, patramāy, mānamoppāy
muḻumati, madanān tīttinnu sandhyōpanītam
ayi bata ceṟiyaccī, kānmitasyām rajanyān
tava virahiṇamannettanvi, kolkuṉṟa pōle 1

paricu paṭa nirattippaścimāśā cuvappām
putiya taḷiratinmēl vennilāppūvu tūvi
racayati ceṟiyaccī viprayōgōcitam mē
śayanamiva śaśānkah śarvvarīpūrvvayāmam 2

priyasakhi, ceṟiyaccī viprayōgajvarārttam
kuṟavuyirapi, tīrppān nūnamindukchalēna
madananudaya śailappaḷḷi vilmēttoṭuttān
pathikarudhiradhārā pāṭalam paḷḷiyampu 3

asitatimirapiñchairantiyām tīyericca-
ttaralatara meḻiniattārakā muttaniññu
ayi, bata ceṟiyaccī vāsarāntākhyanākum
kṣapaṇakaṉita kāṇā picca kāṭṭinṟa vāṟu 4

raviramaṇaviyōgē rātriyākinṟa dhātrī
vikirati paninirum candrikā candanam ca

puṉarapi na vibuddhām patmiṉīm kaṇṭavāṟē
mama bata ceṟiyaccī vārttayil pēṭiyuṇṭu

APPENDIX—II

taratalamtāṉalantā pilantā
poṉṉan taṉṉakacentār varuntāmal
vānantaṉṉe karamarinta perumtāṉavamāruṭe
karaḷerinta purāṉē murāri kaṇā

oru varantāparantāmanē ṉī kaṉinturakacāyi
piṇippavvam nīntām vannam
cirataram tāl paṉintēṉayyō tankeṉṉe
tiruvaṉantāpuram tankumāṉantaṉē

APPENDIX—III (i)

1 Vāḻappalli inscription of Rājaśekhara A D 830-850

namaśivāya śrī rājarājādhirāja paramēśvara bhaṭṭāraka rājaśēkhara dēvarkku cellāṉiṉṟayāntu avvānṭu tiruvāṟṟuvāy patiṉettu nāttārum vāḻupalli ūrāium kūṭi rājaśēkhara dēvar tṛkkaikkīḻ vaittu ceyta kaccam tiruvāṟṟuvāy muṭṭāppali vilakkuvār perumāṉatikaṭku nūṟu tīṉāram tanṭappaṭuvatu mātṛparigrahamum ceytārāvitu tanṭam taippūyattin nāḷ uccippali iṉmum kuṭuppatu kuṭātu vitiliraṭṭi kaṭaviyarāvatu kailātamuṭaiyānar kutakkapaṭṭa pūmiyāvaṉa ṉūṟṟu nāḻi um ūrakkattu pīlikkōṭṭu purai[illegible] kāvati kaṇṇañcankaran purai iṭattiṉmē ṉuṟṟaimpati tūṇi nellu mūṉṟu tīṉāramum aiyan [illegible] vēli um

APPENDIX—III (ii)

2. Tṛkkaṭittāṉam inscription A D. 1064.

iṭapattuḷ viyāḻam ṉirka kumpa ñāyiṟu tinnaḷāṇṭa tiruvōṇattin nāḷ tirukkaṭittāṉattu paṭṭārakku kīḻmalaiyuṭaya kanṭankumaraṉāya māḷuvakkōn nantāviḷakkamaiccān innantāviḷakkiṉu taṉṉuṭeya nelvātil kāṭākiṉṟe

cērıkkal kaıaıyum vayalum kāṭum ulloṭunka ıtınupatumatellām kūta atıkkotuttān kıḻamalaı nātutaıya kanṭan kumaranāya māluvakkōn nelvātılākını cērıkkal, tırukkatıttāratıūrum, potuvāl mārum kīḻamalaı aranūrruvaraıyum nanrulaı nāttu munnūrruvaıaıyum panıyutaıyakaleyum ulvaıccu kōtıkkala mutaıya ıyakkan kōvınnanukku kārānmaı attıkotuttār vılakkumuttıkkum ıvar kaccattıl patta tanṭamē patakkatavıyar vılakkınu kumpañāyırru urōyanı nāl potuvālmār kaıyıl nelkoṭukkıl ıṭannaḻıyāl pantırukalam kotuppıtu pon kotukkıl cūtum uraıyumvaruvıtu āru kaḻaıññu nıraıppān kotuppıtu

APPENDIX—III (iii)

3 Coppeı plate of Vīrarāghava A D 1200

harı śrī mahāganapatē nama śrī pūvāla naıapatı śrī vīrakēıala śakravarttı ātıyāyı muıamuınyē pala nūrāyırattāntu cenkōl natattāyı nınra makarattul vıyāḻam mīnıñāyaru ırupatonru cenra canı rōhını nāḷ perunkōyılakattırunnarula mākōtaıyar paṭṭınattu ıravı kōrttanınāya cēramān lōka peruñcettıkku manıkkırāma pattam kuṭuttōm. murccollum mum nateyum pañcavādyamum śankhum pakalvılakkum pāvātayum aıntōlamum korrakkuṭayum vatukapparayum ıṭupaṭı tōranamum nālucērıkkum tanıcceṭṭum kututtōm nakarattukku karttāvāya ıravıkōrttanukku para kontalannu nıra konṭu tūkki nūlkontu pākı ennınratılum eṭukkinratılum uppōṭu kastūrıyōtu vilakkennayōtu iṭayil uṭṭatu eppērppettatınum tarakum atınaṭutta cunkamum kūṭa kotunkūlūr aḻıyıyōtu kōpurattōṭu vıśēṣāl nālu taḷıyum taḷıkkaṭutta kırāmattōtıṭayıl nīr mutalāyi ceppētu eḻuti kuṭuttōm cēramān lōkapperuñ ceṭṭıyāna iravıkōrttanukku ıvan makkaḷ makkaḷkkē vaḻı vaḻıyē pērākakkuṭuttōm itariyum panrıyūr kirāmamu cōkirakkırāmamum arıyakkuṭuttōm vēnāṭum ōṭanāṭumarıyak-

kututtōm ēṟanātum valluvanātumaṟıyakkututtōm. candrādıtyakalulla nālēkku kututtōm ıvarkalaṟıya ceppēteḻutıya cēramān lōkapperum tattān nampıcateyan kaıyeḻuttu

APPENDIX—IV (ı)

1 pıṉṉe uṉmattakan kankapatṟam konṭu puṟappettu jātı kontu kuttı rañjıccu kalakala vākyam kontu mutıccu tattukontu jātıyum nırggītayum cārıyum kontu parıkramattıl muṭıppū. pıṉṉe kalıyam vaccu tırıññu nūpurattılırunnu sphatıkamanı collıccu yavaṉıka nīkkı prāvēsıkam kattı eḻunıṉṟu vattattıl natannu kuttı rañjıccu kalakala vākyam kontu mutıppū pıṉṉe maṟṟu mūṟu puṟattum sphatıkamanı cottıccu ātıkolluvu mōda ā mōda ā ennu collı ha ha ha eṉṟum vēlā dhūlıyıl colvū mōdakam kontu mumpıl tēvarc vaccu tēvārıccu nılattırunnu, ındalam collı ābhyantaram ātıkollū pıṉṉeyanyōnyamēttamıttu uṉmattakam cārı kūtı āṭımuṭıccu prāvēśıkam kāttı pın nōkkı vānnı kūttum muṭıppū pıṉṉe ıantām dıvasam kettıttutannıyāl jātıyıl vannu mūṉṟuṭe prāvēśıkam kāttı 'kım mōda ā kahı mōda ā' ennu collı pıṉṉeyum orıkkal tattum nırggītayum cārıyum ranṭātı pıṉṉeyum orıkkal tattum nırggītayum cārıyumatıccu prāvesıkam kāttı pın nōkkıppōnnu muṭıppū pıṉṉe mūṉṟām dıvasam jātıyıl vannu prāvēsıkam mūnṟute kāttı grantham colvū

APPENDIX—IV (ıı)

2 śūrppanakhaykku maṟayıl cārı, kalakala vādyam, jātı parıkramam, pıṉṉe druttıl rantu natannu ūttattil mutıccu koḷḷū pıṉṉe 'dıṭṭhı ā' ennu collı cārı parıkramam, nṛttam pıṉṉe 'ennē tukamē' tāṉē tukam-ennu collıyālum pōrāyē, tukam tukam tukam ! atantennallī ellāṭavuṃ naṭappan ñān ōrō tēyannalılum

ōrō nasī tīrannalılum marru pala pratēyaṅnaḷılum ellāṭavum naṭappan ñān pıṉṉe ıvıṭettaṉṉe pōnnuvarumatre atentannallī? ıvıṭeyuntu cıla śaṉamırıppū avar kantālottum tukamıllāta parıḻakalaırē tātıyum talayum kakkavum pakkavum ınnaṉeyellāmırıkkınna ıvare ñān karukharā, parupharā, murumurā, katukhaṭā, cutucutā, koṭukoṭā, kaṭıccu tıṉṉu vaırākkıyam varınnū ennatō arı mūttamānıyāṉē' arı elayamāṉıyāṉē! ıvar kaṉtāl nalla tukamulla parıḻakaḷatrē ī kallakkāṭṭıl eṉṉekkonṭannōṭınnōṭu īvannam kalıpparāyıccamaññē ınnaṉeyellāmırıkkınna ıvare ñān putuputā, vetuvetā, nuṉu ṉunā, kuḷukulā, palupalā kaṭıccu tıṉṉāvū arı cītēcci avalkkoru pāvamunṭu, eṉṉōlam uru cuṉtarıyāyıttārumıllennu avalute pūccūttum totukurıyum kanneḷuttum marrum nī eṉre pūccūttu kantō nīyeṉre kuttumulakantu kotuccu kalayarutē ınnaṉeyellāmırıkkınnakkınna ıvaḷe ñān tala vaḻıya tampırāvanaccaṉu kāccayāyıkkontu koṭuppū kāccayennum pōḷoru takkāram, takkāram ennumpōloru pāvṛtam pāvrtamennumpōloru vyañcaṉam, vyañcaṉamennumpōloru polıkānam polıkkānamennumpōḷoru ulakayātra"

4

K. SUKUMARA PILLAI

The Language of Manipravala Literature

4 1. What is Maṇipravāḷa?

Theoretically, the term *Maṇipravāḷa* (MP) may denote an admixture of any two languages, eg. Malayalam and English, Malayalam and Arabic, etc But in literature, it is a technical term, rather an old one *Līlātilakam* (LT), a treatise on MP, has defined and described it. That the term MP was extant long before the time of LT, is evident from the fact that the author disapproves of the arguments of some earlier scholars and establishes his views regarding the definition and details regarding it But there is no controversy about the term MP anywhere. Though the text of LT has come to light only as late as 1910 A.D. (the first *śilpa* of LT, was published for

the first time in Mangalodayam Monthly in 1910), the concept of the term MP, according to the views of LT, was not unknown to Kerala scholars The dictum of Kuñcan Nampyar *bhāsayeṟi varunna nalla manipravāḷam* 'the good MP in which the native language of Kerala is prominent' (Prologue *Sabhā pravēśam Tuḷḷal*), reflects the content of the *sūtra*, '*taduttamam bhāsārasaprādhānye*' (LT S 2)

Let us consider the definition of MP according to LT at first *bhāsāsamskṛtayogo manipravālam'*. 'MP is the proper combination of *bhāṣa* and Sanskrit ' Each of the words in the *sūtra* deserves elucidation *bhāṣa* - *keraḷabhāṣa* *samskṛtam* - *vibhaktyantasamskṛtam* 'inflected Skt forms' *yoga* - *sannāhaḥ* 'proper combination' Thus, MP which is the beautiful combination of *bhāṣa* and Skt would certainly delight the mind of *sahṛdaya*, 'one who appreciates' Aesthetic pleasure can be had from proper inculcation of *rasa* 'sentiment' and *alamkāra* 'figure of speech', etc , regardless of the language involved But there is one restriction the Skt words used in MP must be popular and textured with *sukumārākṣara* 'beautiful phonemes' Such Skt words and native words must be so blended together that the entire work must appear as *aviṣama* 'even' and also must resemble a work in native language and not a Skt. work, *mani* 'ruby' and *pravāla* 'red coral', when stringed together look the same in colour and a proper combination of this sort generates delight The term MP is intended to express this intimate union in which *maṇi* represents *kēralabhāṣa* and *pravāḷa*, the inflected Skt forms

The term, *yoga*, is certainly a factor that converts an ordinary linguistic expression into a literary expression While Skt is too wellknown to require any definition or description the other component, *bhāṣa* calls for an extensive discussion

There are three statements implied in the defining *sūtra* and its *vṛtti* (1) the *sūtra* gives primary importance to *bhāṣa*, (2) the words blended together must resemble a work in the

native tongue and not that of Skt, and (3) the characteristic of *uttamamanipravāḷa* 'the most excellent variety of MP' is, that it gives more importance to *bhāsa* rather than to Skt, and to *rasa* than to *alamkāra*, etc Reading between the lines we are tempted to conclude that the basic language of the combination must be *bhāsa*

4 2 School of Literature or Language Movement ?

It seems that historians of Malayalam literature often viewed MP as a school of literature Though it can be considered as a literary style at present, MP commenced as a language movement, according to some scholars (Velayudhan Pillai, 1968 157–58) The reasons are as follows (1) *yoga* is an essential factor of any literary composition, (2) *nampyār tamiḻ* has been excluded from the sphere of MP for the single reason that it did not consist of inflected Skt forms which obviously suggests that a grammatical combination of *kēraḷabhāṣa* and Skt alone cannot rise up to the standard of MP, and (3) the school of *pāttu* literature is differentiated from MP as it admits only *ḷamiḍasamghītapīṭla* 'text composed exclusively of Tamil letters' which resulted in resemblance of *pāṇḍyabhāṣa*

The other aspects viz *vṛttaviśēṣam* 'peculiar metrical system', *etuka* and *mōṉa* 'types of alliteration' etc are not relevant in the present context because MP can be composed in prose also (LT S 11 and its *vṛtti*)

A study of MP and *pāttu* reveals that while the former follows Skt literary tradition the latter honestly keeps pace with popular Tamil literary style *āriyaccutevu* forms (Dravidianised forms of Aryan vocables) are not the monopoly of *pāṭṭu*, as they are attested in MP also Later when the *pāṭṭu* school disappeared, an indigenous school of literature originated in the line of MP style Modern researchers could trace the proto-types of many Malayalam metres in *Rāmacaritam*, the earliest work available in the *pāṭṭu* school Anyway there is no room for prose literature in this school Hence *pāṭṭu* is

evidently a school of literature But it is plausible that MP originated as a language movement rather than a school of literature

4 3 Kēraḷabhāṣa

We have seen that the *bhāṣa* of MP is nothing but the language of the Keralites By the very term *kēraḷabhāṣa*, the author of LT meant the language that was the medium of communication among the people of Kerala But the author of LT has spent much energy to make the meaning of the term clear Which is the language or dialect that we have to apprehend from the term *kēraḷabhāṣa?* The nomenclature 'Malayalam' is not attested in LT This term has not been used in the sense of the language of Kerala during the period of LT or before Radhakrishna (1981) points out that the term *malayālabhāṣa* has been attested in [illegible] a Telugu *kāvya* of the 15th century In this context the text continues *āndhra-gāndhāra-gurjara-bhāṣalu* Here, the poet Srinatha introduces his own language as *āndhrabhāṣa* and not as Telugu In the same way, *malayāḷabhāṣa* seems to mean the language of Malayalam, the land In *Unniyāṭicaritam* (a MP work belonging to the 15th century) the usage *malayāḷikaḷ* is attested which certainly does not refer to the language but only to the people of Kerala

The most frequent term to denote the native language of Kerala in LT is Tamil which, in no way, refers to the language of Tamilnadu of that age In the latter sense (that is Tamil, the language of the territorial regions of South India, now known particularly as Tamilnadu) LT uses the terms *cōḷabhāṣa* and *pāṇḍyabhāṣa* In many of the works written during the period of LT and before, the language of Kerala is referred to as Tamil At the same time LT, in a passing reference, makes it clear that the Tamil of Kerala during his time was distinct and different from that of Pandya and Cola lands. He does this by giving examples of phonological changes, lexical forms, etc. (LT 47-9). We may infer that, though the

language of these two regions had a common nomenclature, these two languages differed in many respects to a considerable extent Examples

		(*pāṇḍyabhāṣa*)	(*kēraḷabhāṣa*)
(1)	*vantāṉ*	'came-he'	*vannāṉ*
(2)	*iruntāṉ*	'sat–he'	*irunnāṉ*
(3)	*yāṉ*	'I'	*ñāṉ*
(4)	*yāṉai*	'elephant'	*āṉa*
(5)	*ataṉai*	'that' (ac)	*atiṉe*
(6)	*itaṉai*	'this' (ac)	*itiṉe*
(7)	*āviṉatu*	'of the cow'	*āviṉṟe*

What we can normally conclude from these and similar statements is that the language of Kerala had by the time of LT evolved into such a state as to have a good number of literary works, eventually leading to works on theoretical aspects of both language and literature LT is certainly a product of this necessity as it clearly states that the basic language of MP was nothing but the mother tongue ot Kerala people and was characteristically different from the language of Tamilnadu

4 4 Literary Dialect and Colloquial Idioms

Colloquial dialects are important materials in the study of the evolution of a language But how can we trace back the speech forms of the common folk in a given period of the past? A literary work need not necessarily reflect all the characteristics of the mother tongue of the author We have seen that the basic language of MP is *kēraḷabhāṣa* and Skt is mixed with it And so we have to find out the characteristics of the basic language LT is of help in this connection as it clearly states that '*bhāṣā ca prāyaśo f pīmaraji iaprasiddha*' It literally means that the *bhāṣa* of MP must be that of scholars and not that of illiterates There are scholars who interpret this as *pāmarajaṉaprasiddha,* which means the language of the illiterate common folk (Velayudhan Pillai, 1968 19) MP, the literary school of the *traivarnika* 'people who belong to the

castes of brahmins, kṣatriyas and those employed in temple service', could not have employed the language of the lower castes

4 5. The Different Social Strata and the Language

LT observes that the language is of two types (1) *utkṛṣṭa* 'high' and (2) *apakṛṣṭa* 'low' (S 17) The commentary explicates that the high language is that of the upper class and that the low language is that of the lower castes What is the significance of such a classification in this discussion? It is a declaration that MP, the literary school of the upper class, should consist of their own language In addition to this, there is a hint that, in many respects, the high language was obviously distinct from the low language

From above, it is clear that the upper class, referred to in LT, formed the superstratum of Kerala society If so who were those designated as illiterates or lower class? Casteism and untouchability were deep-rooted in Kerala society even centuries before LT Hence, it is possible that there existed a class of people who were caste Hindus in every respect, but were denied the conventional education of the period, and consequently were looked down upon by the upper class It is also equally probable that Nairs, etc who were engaged in agriculture, military service and menial services of the privileged class, had formed the middle class of that period We can presume that they were the *pāmara* referred to in LT There was another stratum far below the middle class LT refers to *hīnajātayah* 'lowest castes', who even in those days were speaking the *coḷabhāṣa* forms like *vantān*, *iruntān*, etc (S. 14–*vṛtti*) It does not seem proper to accept the view of Ilamkulam Kunjan Pillai that LT meant Nairs, etc by *hīnajātayah* We get a clear picture of the lowest caste in *Unnicciruteḍvicaritam Campu*. The same work ridicules the members of the illiterate middle class who tried to imitate the speech forms of brahmins Thus we get three different social strata in this period, viz.

(1) the *traivarṇika*, (2) the *pāmara* and (3) the *hīṇajātayaḥ* It is also to be noted that there were marked differences among the speech styles of these three classes

4 6 The Characteristics of the Upper Language :

No literary dialect will represent the language of common parlance in an absolute sense The spoken language is often corrupted by various tendencies Nevertheless, the literary dialect takes its shape from the spoken language itself Linguistic changes, as we know, take place at first, in the spoken language It may start, sometimes at the level of an idiolect As the literary dialect, especially of ancient times, is the most conservative one, linguistic changes can find a place in it only with the approval of the majority of the elite LT rules, for example, that the change of *iraṇṭu* to *raṇṭu* 'two' is equally unbecoming as the change from *orutti* 'one female' to **rutti* We know that the later language of Kerala admitted the former without any hesitation In short, the linguistic material contained in literary works does not reflect the spoken language fully, yet, the study of the same would help us in reconstructing the history and evolution of the spoken language and the literary language alike

LT specifically indicates that the Skt forms in MP are inflected Skt forms But, were there inflected Skt forms in the spoken language of Kerala in those times? We are not sure But at present, in the spoken Malayalam even uneducated people use inflected Skt forms like, *pakṣē* 'but', *viśeṣāl* 'specially' *kramēṇa* 'in due course', etc This phenomenon cannot be explained unless we postulate the existence of such forms from, perhaps, pre-LT stage

4 7 Reliability of Līlātilakam

Velayudhan Pillai holds the view that LT was not familiar with the grammatical structure of *kēraḷabhāṣa*, and so, it will be foolish to reconstruct the history of Middle Malayalam

depending on the observations of LT (1968:32-3). LT does not deal with the grammar of Skt. as it had already been studied by scholars of different centuries in different parts of India. But for *kēraḷabhāṣa*, the basic language of MP, there was until then no grammatical treatise written. The only recourse was, then, to rely on the treatises in Centamil. Accordingly, the complaint of Velayadhan Pillai, that LT has blindly followed the rules found in Centamil grammatical treatises and that for that very reason, it could present only the grammar of Tamil and not that of Malayalam, is untenable. Even the grammarians of Malayalam of the 20th century deliberately followed either the Skt. grammatical system or the grammatical system of the European languages, resulting in several inconsistencies which could have been avoided if a system which suits the genius of the language was adopted (for details see Sukumara Pillai, 1980 : Ch. IV). Can we say that they cannot be credited with the authorship of grammatical treatises in Malayalam?

Even if we dispute the analysis in LT, the significance of the exemplified specimens of the language cannot be easily dispensed with. The examples range from the earliest *Aṭṭaprakāra* 'expositions of stage performances of Skt. dramas' to contemporary MP works. How can we make use of these materials for the study of the language unless the dates of these texts are known? Even if we disqualify the examples of unknown dates, it is possible to rely on such materials that are attested in literary works of known dates. The materials that LT has collected from the spoken language of the period can never be rejected.

4.8. The Nomenclature 'bhāṣāmiśram

bhāṣāmiśram is a controversial term. Some scholars held the view that it referred to a hybrid language involving a judicious mixture of the local parlance and the language of Tamilnadu; accordingly the language of the *pāṭṭu* school is generally considered as representing this hybrid language. But

in *Muhūrttavidhi*, a work on astrology, there is a verse which states *'bhāṣāmiśram poḻutu kathayāmi'* This definitely discloses that the work is written in *bhāṣāmiśram* and that the ingredients are *kēraḷabhāṣa* and Skt, *poḷutu* 'time' being a *bhāṣa* lexeme and *kathayāmi* 'I say' an inflected Skt form Thus, the true nature of *bhāṣāmiśram* is revealed here It is not correct to state that the language of *pāṭṭu* school is composed in the *bhāṣāmiśram* style The authors of works in *pāttu* school, on the other hand, swear that they are writing in Tamil itself

bhāṣāmiśram is, beyond doubt, a mixture of *kēraḷabhāṣa* and Skt There are many works written in this style on various subjects, viz, astrology, medicine, etc The Ayurvedic works written by scholars of Ālattūr (a place in Palghat Dist) alone got the nomenclature MP- here, the term MP creates a confusion with *bhāṣāmiśram* Alattūr MP lacks the important characteristic of MP, the *yoga* In short, MP is the medium of a particular school of literature whereas *bhāṣāmiśram* is the language of common intercourse of the upper class

4 9 Stages of Developments

Prabodhachandran (1973) states that the language of *Kṛṣṇagātha* (C 1500 A D) more or less, represents Modern Malayalam It is a fact that, except a few usages like *cērū ñāyam* 'will join together', etc. which have become obsolete now, there is not much difference between the language of *Kṛṣṇagātha* and Modern Malayalam This work is written in the MP style though the percentage of inflected Skt forms is insignificantly less But somehow the work is not referred to as an MP composition by our scholars *Candrōtsavam*, the period of which is closer to that of *Kṛṣṇagātha*, is admittedly an MP work The *kēralabhāṣa* of *Candrōtsavam* is a reliable representative of Modern Malayalam Therefore, we may come to the conclusion that the upper-class dialect had evolved in its present form by this time Another point that we have to

notice is that the erotic themes of the earlier works are not closely followed after *Candrōtsavam* Here, we can find a transition in the history of the literature as well as of the language

We can, therefore, designate the period upto 1500 A D as early MP and the period after as later MP

4 10 Major works of the early MP period

(i) Samples of the earliest MP literature are to be collected from works called *Āttaprakāra* and *Kramadīpika* These works are connected with the stage performance called *Kūṭiyāṭṭam* There is a tradition that one Tolan reformed *Kūṭiyāṭṭam* and therefore the verses used in these works are generally ascribed to him *Kramadīpika* describes the systems and conventions of *Kūṭiyāṭṭam*, while *Āṭṭaprakāra* deals with the performances of it Even if we admit that some or all of these works were written by Tolan himself, it is impossible to find out the changes occurred in these texts by the constant use of Cākkiyārs through ages Therefore, we may conclude that these works are not absolutely reliable source materials

(ii) *Vaiśikatantram* (VT) is a work on the profession of prostitutes as found in *Kuṭṭanīmata* of Damodara Gupta in Skt It is believed to be the earliest available MP work.

(iii) *Uṇṇiyaccicaritam* (UA) of c. 1250–1300 A D, *Uṇṇiccirutēvicaritam* (UC) of c 1300 A D and *Uṇṇiyāṭicaritam* (UT) of c. 1400 A D. are three available *campu* works that give specimens of early MP As is evident from the titles themselves, each of the works is intended to eulogise a *dēvadāsi*

(iv) *Uṇṇunīlisandēśam* (US) of c 1350 A.D. and *Kōkasandēśam* (KS) of c 1400 A.D are two *sandēśakāvya* works available in the early period The information that we can collect from these works regarding the nature of language and the history of the period are really valuable.

(v) *Padyaratnam* is an anthology of more than a dozen minor poems describing women (most probably *dēvadāsi* women) These poems evidently belong to different periods, and they are not so far dated

(vi) Though the description of damsels was the pet theme of MP poets, there are a few deviations *Vāsudēvastavam* (c 1300 A D), *Anantapuravarnanam* (AP) of c 1400 A D and *Avataranadaśakam* (c 1400 A D) are works that have devotion as the dominant sentiment

(vii) *Candrōtsavam* (CM) of c 1500 A D is a *kāvya* with a well conceived plot and systematic presentation The story of the *devadāsi*, *Mēdinīvennilāvu*, from her birth to the time when she attained youth and performed the sacrifice of *Candrōtsava* is narrated in five parts It is the maturity of the high language that attracts students of language rather than the plot and the poetic excellence

4 11 Works of the later MP period

From the point of view of evolution, the language of MP showed very little change in the later period Moreover, by the time of Eḻuttacchan, the standard Malayalam, irrespective of the school, was formed The important works of the later MP school belong to the three branches of Malayalam literature, viz *campu*, *Āṭṭakkatha* and *Tullal*

(i) So many *campu* works were written after 1500 A D, of which *Bhāṣārāmāyanam* and *Bhāṣānaiṣadham* are most important *Kāmadahanam* and *Koṭiyaviraham* come next As mentioned before, the authors turn to *purāna* and *itihāsa* for their plots in these works, even though they do not entirely free themselves from erotic descriptions similar to those in early MP Strangely, there were works like *Tenkailanāthōdayam* and *Cellūrnāthōdayam*, etc, the themes of which are about some deities of regional importance Kunjan Pillai is of opinion that the period between 1500 – 1650 A D was the golden age

of *campu* works (1970 72) *Campu* ceased to exist as a popular literary form after 1650 A D During this period, the percentage of inflected Skt forms in *campu* gradually rose to such an extent, that even some portions of them are not comprehensible for an average student of Malayalam

(ii) *Āttakkatha* is a form of literature which provides dialogue and plot for the stage performance called *Kathakaḷi* It is another field that attracted MP poets *Rāmanāttam*, the proto-form of *Kathakali* was written around 1650 A D A series of beautiful compositions in this particular form came to light for nearly two and a half centuries Though some stray works in this field are still being composed, *Āttakkatha*, as a form of literature, has ceased to be popular, nearly a century ago

(iii) *Tuḷḷalpāṭṭu* (literature for the stage performance called *Tuḷḷal*), translations of Skt dramas and *mahākāvya* also form part of the later MP literature, in which we can come across the fully evolved standard Malayalam, in lieu of *kēraḷabhāṣa* of LT

4.12 The Chain of Evolution

We have already seen that MP is the blending of *kēraḷabhāṣa* and inflected Skt forms The frequency of inflected Skt forms gradually increases when we come to the later period Non-inflected Skt words are to be considered as loans and treated as part of the vernacular The native lexemes with Skt suffixes occur only in 'the context of a literary work' (LT S 18) The rest form the pure indigenous language For an examination of the evolution of the language we have to study this ingredient alone In what follows an outline of this evolution is given.

4.13. Phonological changes

(a) Consonants, vowels, sequences of vowels and consonants in word final position are sometimes elided. (i) -C *mārvil* >

mārvi 'in the chest' (US II 3), *cilar* > *cila* 'some people' (US II 3) (ii) -V *cāle* > *cāl* 'in a pleasant way' (UT. p 13) (iii) –C—V *aḷavu* > *aḷa* 'at the time' (UA p 28) (iv) –V—C *mukuḷam* > *mukiḷ* 'bud' (UA p 196), *śaranam* > *śaran* 'shelter' (A P v 38), *mukuḷam* > *mukuḷ* 'bud' (LT v 37) LT does not approve of this tendency Yet in modern Malayalam forms like, *śaṅkhu* < *śankham* 'conch shell', *danḍu* < *daṇḍa* 'staff', etc prevail (v) –V–C–V *aḷavu* > *aḷ* 'measurement' (LT v 39)

(b) In junction, weakly articulated /*l*/, /*r*/, etc are elided [illegible] > *muṟuvapranayam* 'love for teeth' (UA p. 8), *candrādityarkaḷ* > *candrādityakaḷ* 'moon and sun' (AP 157)

(c) In lieu of /*u*/ of Modern Malayalam /*i*/ is found used in early MP *iriḷ* (–*iruḷ*) 'darkness' (UA p 25), *irinnān* (–*irunnu*) 'sat–he' (US 1 4) This may be due to the tendency of pronouncing medial /u/ as a centralized vowel though in the examples cited the graphemic representations show a farther fronting

(d) In all positions / *ay* / and / *ey* / are sometimes orthographically represented as / *ai* / or / *e* / *ayyaṉey* > *aiyaṉai* 'Ayyan' (accusative) (AP v 124), *kanaykkāliṉay* > *kaṇaikkāliṉai* 'pair of forelegs' (US p 38) *naṉayppān* > *na_a ppin* 'to irrigate' (UC p 32), *mey* > *mai* 'body' (US 1 54), *ceytu* > *caitu* 'did' (US II 36), *nilaykkum* > *nilekkum* 'standing' (UT p 3) This is one of the most prominent tendencies found in early MP

(e) Nasal assimilation is invariably found in inflected forms *viḷaṅku*– > *vilaṅṅu*– 'to shine' (UA p 23), *ampaḻaṅka*> *ampaḷaṅṅa* 'hog plum' (AP v 50) This tendency is rarely found in loans also Pkt *phaḷiga* > *paḷimku* > *paḷiṅṅu* 'crystal' (UA p 23)

(f) The change / *nt* /, / *nn* / or / *ṉṟ* / to / *ṉṟ* / is highly frequent in early MP *annu* > *aṉṟu* 'that day' (UA p 28), UC p 26) *innu* > *iṉṟu* 'today' (UA p 28), *onnu* > *oṉṟu* 'one'

(AP 150), *anti* > *aṉṟi* 'evening' (LT v 39) *teṉṉal* > *teṉṟal* breeze' (US I 4) This change cannot be justified from the point of view of the grammar of Modern Malayalam and hence they are to be considered as irregular changes

(g) In a lone case *ṅn* is found to have changed to *ññ* / *iṅṅaṉe* > *iññaṉe* 'this way' (UC p 40)

4 14 Sandhi

(a) The relative participle marker is frequently elided before a vowel *vīḻiṉṟa* + *aruviyil* > *vīḻiṉṟaruviyil* 'in the falling stream' (UT p, 5), *colluḷla* + *asuranivaham* > *colluḷḷasuranivaham* 'famous group of demons' (US I 54) *aṇiñña* + *ambike* > *aṇiññambike* 'Ambika (voc) who is decorated with'

(b) In Modern Malayalam the relative participle marker takes v / before a suffix-initial vowel *vanna* + *an* > *vannavan* he who came' But in early MP this tendency is found extended to final *a* in words other than the relative participle also *aka* + *ital* > *akavital* 'inner petal' (UA p 27 UC p 31) *tā* + *eṉṟu* > *tāveṉṟu* 'asked to give' (AP v 32) The form *connavellām* 'all what have been said in US (II 97) may be segmented as *connavu* + *ellām* Here the v is neutre pl marker according to LT S 34

(c) The word final m, becomes v / before the conjunctive particle *–um* in Modern Malayalam But the ancient works do not effect this change UA supplies forms without change everywhere *nētram* + *um* > *nētramum* 'and the eye (p 41), *oṭṭēṭam* + *um* > *oṭṭēṭamum* 'some places' (p 48) AP shows fluctuation in this respect and the *m* > v change is less frequent *kāyamum neyyum iyavum* 'asafoetida, ghee and lead'. The tendency, *m* > *v* change gained dominance in about 1400 A D

(d) Word final / *m* sometimes gets assimilated to *n* / *collām nityāṉandakari* > *collānnityā* . 'I shall say O' doer of perpetual bliss' (UA p 34), cf *pōkum* + *nēram* > *pōkunnēram* 'while going' in Modern Malayalam

(e) Dentals are assimilated in some environments (i) Dentals are palatalised after a palatal plosive / nasal / semivowel This takes place in internal sandhi alone *ayntu* > *añcu* ' five ' *alayttu* > *aleccu* ' slapped ' (UA p 10)

(ii) Dentals are retroflexed after a cerebral plosive/nasal/semivowel *tiral* + *tirumārvu* > *tiraṭirumārvu* 'the beautiful chest that shines' (UA p 7), *veṇ* + *tiṅkal* > *veṇṭinkaḷ* 'white moon' (US I 7), *nīl* + *nāḷ* > *nīṇāl* 'long days' U S I 94)

(iii) Dentals, after alveolars are alveolarised *kāl* + *tālam* > *kāṟṟāḷam* 'the tapping of foot', *kōl* + *tēn* > *kōṟṟēn* 'good honey' (LT v 50). In external sandhi this tendency is almost rejected in Modern Malayalam, although archaic forms like *viṇṭalam* 'the plane of the sky' rarely survive, cf *ventēkku* 'white teak', *kalttaṟa* floor laid with stone', etc in Modern Malayalam

4 15 **Verbal Forms**

(i) Simple and causative forms of verbs were in vogue as early as UA *camaikkarutu* 'cannot make' (UA p 28), *tōṉṟikkum* 'will make' (UA p 40), *teṟiṉōm* 'we believed' (US I 33), *teṟṟituvāṉum* 'also to make believe' (US I 35), *aṟivippikka* 'to inform' (US I 79) In the last the form is seemingly a double causative

The present writer thinks that the causative marker *-kku-*/*-ikku-* was an innovation in early MP There are many verbal forms without these markers denoting their non causal meaning later they take the markers without, however, any change of meaning *nāṇippōmāṟu* 'as if feeling ashamed' (US II 5), *nāṇāte* 'without being ashamed' (US I 69), *nāṇikkinrōḷ* 'she who makes someone ashamed' (LT V 69) The last example listed above shows the full causative meaning The contention of the traditional Malayalam grammarians that *-kku-* is also a causative marker, is questionable The causative markers in Malayalam are *-ttu-*, *-i-*, *-ppi-*, and *-ippi-* Therefore, *-kku-*

is only an augment But in later times, by false analogy, this augument is used rarely in some roots to denote causative meaning *cerkkuka* 'to join' (transitive), etc (for details vide Sukumara Pillai, 1980 267)

The augmentary element *-ikku- -kku-*, has come into usage when Skt loan roots were adopted *rakṣikkavēṇtum* 'must save' (AP 2) — *rakṣ-*(Skt, root) + *ikku*, augmentary derivative

(ii) Almost all the moods prevalent in Modern Malayalam are attested in early MP

(a) Imperative Many imperative forms are met with in early texts The most archaic forms seem to be in the shape of *kanā* 'you please see' (UC p 48, US II 76 I I 49, 196) An alternate form is *kāṇa* (I T v 30) Some forms are used with a zero marker also *kaikūppu* 'you fold the palm' (US I 77) Many forms are having *-a* or *-ka* as the imperative marker *kumpiṭaruḷa* 'you please bow down' (US I 48) *kāṇka* 'you see (US I 76, 79) *aṟiyippikka* 'you inform (US II 79) One more form, though rare, is the one with *-u* as the imperative marker. *kēlppu* 'you please hear' (US I 48) Cf Modern Malayalam *varū* 'you come', *pokū* 'you go', etc

(b) Compulsive In early MP, *veṇṭum* 'must' occurs most frequently as the compulsive marker *vaikātavēṇṭum* 'don't tarry' (US I 109), *rakṣikkavēṇṭum* 'must save' (AP 2) *tōṉṟaveṇṭum* 'must reflect' (LT v 1) Some forms show phonological change *varēṇṭum* 'must come' (UT p 15) *kumpiteṇṭum* 'must bow' (US I 37) *vēṇam* 'must have' occurs once in US (I 33) Metrically *vēṇṭum* and *vēṇam* are similar So the high frequency of *vēṇṭum/ – ēṇṭum* has something *to* do with the evolution of the language I put forth another hypothesis here that *vēṇṭum* changes to *vēṇam* and *–ēṇṭum* to-*ēṇam*, and when these are merged together we get-*aṇam* In early MP literature *-ēṇam* is attested once *vandikkēṇam*

must salute (US I 67) whereas *-anam* in not attested at all

(c) Permissive The archaic structure of permissive form seems to be root + the derivational suffix *-al* + *-ām* *kāṇalām* 'may see' (AP 17, 20, 40) The modern strcture, root + *-ām*, is also attested in the same work *tirthimātām* 'may dip in holy waters' (AP 40) Both are attested in US also *kāṇalām* (I 50) *kāṇām* (I 51, 52)

(d) Benedictive The morphological form is verb root + *v* + *-ūt* + *-āka* in early MP *velvūtāka* 'may be victorious' (US Prologue 1) There are two variants of /*v*/, viz *-pp-*, and *-m-* These are attested in forms without *-āka* *kēlppū* 'hear-will (KG KS 426), *kāṇmūtu* 'see-will' (KG GV 37) The benedictive marker in Modern Malayalam *-aṭṭe* is attested in LT itself *kāṇaṭṭe* 'may see' (v 115) It can be presumed that this form came into force after 1400 A D The participles ending in *-a* or *-ka* are also widely used to denote benedictive mood *jayikka* 'may be victorious', *vāḻka* 'may live (long)'

(e) To form the modal forms various other morphemes are also used in early MP *aṟiyippippitu* 'must inform' (benedictive used as imperative US II 75) *kēṭṭālamayum* 'may please hear' (future tense used as permissive US II 84)

(iii) Indicative This mood indicates tenses also There are three tenses in Modern Malayalam Past, Present and Future According to the Dravidian system, it has to denote gender, number and person also In early MP all these phenomena are attested

(a) Past tense A past form without a personal marker is seldom met with in early MP A vast majority of these verbal forms conform to Centamil grammatical rules *aniññā* 'wore-she' (UA p 42) *pōyān* 'went-he' (UA pp 45. 50), *koṭuttān* 'gave-he' (UT pp 6, 8), *peṟṟār* 'delivered-they' (UT p 8), *vīṭṭiṉa* 'felled-you' (UT 36) *ākkiṉa* 'made you'

(ibid), *teṟiṉōm* 'believed-we' (US I 33) *aṟiññen* 'knew-I' (LT v 8) Some internal sandhi changes are to be noted here *aniyntu* , *āl* > *aniññāḷ* > *aninnāḷ* Palatal assimilation of the cluster nt is followed by nasal assimilation This is charactersitic of early MP and the tendency prevails in Modern Malayalam without exception *keḷ* + *tu* + *ōm* > *keṭṭōm* *kaṇ* + *tu* + *ōm* > *kaṇṭom* Cerebral assimilation of dental is found to be effected and the tendency continues to date *per* + *tu* + *ār* > *peṟṟār* Alveolar assimilation of the dental is a prominent feature of Modern Malayalam also Later MP rejected the forms like *colliṉen* 'said-I' (UT p 7) and accepted forms like *colliyen*

In early MP no past form has been attested without a personal marker except the following *ni niṟṟi* 'you burnt' (UT p 38), *ñān kaṇṭu* 'I saw' (US II 50) *turukkar maṇṭi* 'the Turks ran' (LT 205) In third person neutre gender *-itu* is widely used in early MP *oḷukkitō* 'has made to float ?' (pl neut), *parukitō* 'has drunk ?' (pl neut UA 102) The suffix *-itu* is used rarely with other genders also *dēvataveḷunnaḷḷito* 'has the deity arrived ?' (UA p 32) By the time of US personal marker in neutre gender has been elided *veṇṇinkaḷ tāṇu* 'the moon set' (US I 7) This tendency becomes prominent in later MP works *vasantam ārttū* 'the spring season made noise' (CM II 27)

Sometimes participal phrases are used in the places of finite verbs *kiḻppōnnōḷō* 'has descended - she ?' (UA p. 32) *cātrarumuḷarāya* 'the students also become-they (UA p 75).

(b) Present tense In present tense also personal markers are used generally *pōkinṟēn* 'go-I' (UA p 79), *nēṭikkinṟen* 'fear-I (US I 93). Forms without personal markers are rare *ñān uḷaikkinṟu* 'toil-I' (AP v 9) Neutre markers *-itu* / *-utu* are found in other genders and persons too *candran kalppiccu koḷvutu* 'Candra orders' (UI. 15), *ñān valaññinṟutu* 'I request' (US. I 108), *aṅgam urukinṟitu* 'limbs melt (UT p 13) To

sum up, the present tense markers are –(*k*) *inṟu* and *–itu/–utu* Some seemingly future forms also are used to denote present tense *colluvan* 'I say' (UA p 28), *valluvan* 'I can' (US II 26) In the sense of *uṇṭu* 'there is', *ula* is found to be used sometime (UA p 50, AP v 14, US I 9, Cf *untu* in US I 98)

(c) Future tense The structure, root + personal marker is rarely attested *ñannal pētippōm* 'we shall fear' (UT p 39) Root + *–an* is the popular form of future tense It is used without any discrimination of person In a number of cases, it gives present tense meaning as noted before The present writer is inclined, therefore, to name this form present-future tense *taruvan* 'I shall give' (UA p 46), *erivan* 'I burn' (US II 88), *kāṇmaṉō* 'shall I see?' (LT vv 50, 89) This may be a strange phenomenon in which the verb of incomplete predication is elided, *ñān colluvan* means *ñān collunnavan ākunnu* 'I am a person who will say' If the personal marker is joined to the base correctly, the form has to be *colluvēn* The strange and ungrammatical form in later MP, like *ñān vannan* 'I came-he', etc seems to be a confusion with *-an* for–*en*

The future marker in Modern Malayalam is *-um* This is attested in early MP only as a relative participle marker *kaḷiceyum kalabham* 'the playing elephant' (UC p 33) Future tense forms with *–um* generally occur with non-human subjects in the early period *kekigaḷanaḷ kēḷum* 'the throats of peacocks will mourn' (UC p 57), *teṉṟal viyum* 'the breeze will blow' (US I 96) We may find that this form is extended to human subjects also by the time of US *kōtavarman kāṇum* 'Kotavarma will see' (US II 27), *uṇṇunili pūnum* 'Unnunili will embrace' (US I 107) A strange form *velvā* 'you will win' is attested in US (I 40)

(iv) The negative forms *alla* and *illa* had come into use even in early MP period The negative moods of finite verbs were formed using *illa* *kaṇṭutilla* 'I did not see' (UT p 38),

unarttinrutilla 'I do not request' (US I 126) But in present and future tenses we find the Tamil archaic form which is extensively used in a first person singular *vallen* 'I am not able' (UA p 44) *kollen* 'I won't take' (UA p 45, AP v 88, LT v 42)

(v) (a) The forms *anri* 'other than' (Mod Ma *allate*) and *inri* 'without' (Mod Ma *illate*) are frequent in early MP But in later period the contaminated form *enri* has taken the place of the other two *enri* 'other than' (US II 38), 'without' (LT v 41), cf *enri* > *enni* > *enniye* > *enyē* in Modern Malayalam

(b) The relative participle marker is *-a*, as in Modern Malayalam *mūḷkinra* 'that which sinks' (UA p 40) *camaiñña* 'that which is decorated' (UC p. 44) In negative forms the penultimate consonant is not doubled as in Modern Malayalam *marayāta* 'that which does not disappear' (UT p 10), (cf *marayātta* of Modern Malayalam) *aṇayāta* 'unapproached' (VT quoted by Kunjan Pillai, 1968 45) Thus the doubling of the penultimate consonant seems to be a later innovation One thing worthy of mention here is that *ena* 'that which is' of early MP is represented with *enna* in Modern Malayalam

(c) At the earliest stage of development itself adverbial past participle forms were used *māññu pom* 'will disappear' (UA. p 39)

(d) Adverbial future participle seems to be equally archaic *uṭuppān* 'to clothe' (UA. p 46).

(e) The absolute adverbial participle marker in majority of cases is *-a* *niḷa* 'all along' (UT p 10), *cāla* 'beautifully' (US I 100), *okka* 'befittingly' (US. I 114). Rarely *-avē* also is used as a marker *payyavē* 'slowly' (US I 4); cf. *-a* as the absolute adverbial participle marker in Modern Malayalam A lone case with the marker *-ai* is attested in AP · *niḷai* 'all along' (v 15). Here we may put forth a hypothesis, that

the marker *-a* of relative participle is the same as that of absolute adverbial participle The latter might have changed into *-e* for the sake of differentiation

(f) Conditional participle has various forms in early MP also as in Modern Malayalam *collukıl* 'say–if' (UA p 49), *kettāl* 'heard–it' (US I 36)

(g) Participal nouns are formed with the marker *-kka* *vālkka* 'life' (UA p 39), cf *vālka* in Modern Malayalam The marker *-av*/*-a* is also used for the purpose, *connavellām* 'all what has been said' (US II 97) A R Rajaraja Varma calls these forms *naṭuvinayeccam* 'middle adverbial participle' We are sure that in no context this form functions as an adverb

4 16 Substantives

Free substantive bases function as nouns with zero suffix, while bound bases become nouns only when derivational suffixes are added Free *tala* 'head', *mala* 'mountain' Bound• *a* + *an* > *avan* 'he', *or* + *ntu* > *onṟu* > *onnu* 'one' Nouns are declined for gender, number and case The systems of gender and number in early MP are almost the same as at present

4 17 Case

As the genitive is not a case in Malayalam, we shall examine only six cases All these are attested in early MP

(a) Nominative It is marked with a zero suffix as in Modern Malayalam

(b) Accusative The most archaic marker is *-ai* Only -'*ai* forms' are attested in UA and UC, *avaṉai* 'him' (UA p 8, UC p 26,), *cilayai* 'bow' (ac) (UA. p 8), *atiṉai* 'that' (ac.) (UC 26), *kamukiṉai* 'the areca palm' (ac) (UC p 48) From the period of UT both *-ai* and *-e* are found as accusative case markers *dēvaṉe* 'the deity' (ac) (UT p 12), *avare* 'them' (UT p. 16), *niṉṉai* 'thee' (AP. v 12), *muktiye*

'salvation' (ac) (AP v 37) The *-e* form dominates in US It seems that *ai* was later pronounced as *-ei* and in due course / *y* / got dropped A lone case of a zero suffix for this case is attested in UT *peṇṇum āṇum* 'the male and the female' (ac) (p 8)

(c) Sociative The marker *-oṭu -oṭu* is widely used *pavanaṉoṭu* 'to the wind' (US II 6), *oṉṟiṉoṭoṉṟu* 'one to one (US II 7),

(d) Dative The markers are *-kku* and *-u* *ammaikku* 'to mother' (UA p 50), *taṉakku* 'for oneself' (UC p 58) cf *taṉikku* of Modern Malayalam *śukannu* 'to Śuka' (UC p 28), *vṛtramathaṉannu* 'to, for Vṛtramathaṉa (UT p, 6)

(e) Instrumental The marker *-āl* is attested from the very early period *nādaṅnaḷāl* 'by / with sounds' (UA p 39), *nālkkaṭalāl* 'by the four seas' (UT p 17)

(f) Locative The markers are *-il*, *-mēl* and *kal* *malaril* 'in the flower' (UA p 40) *marvil* 'in the breast' (US I 41), *pārmēl* 'on the earth' (US I 24), *avayiṟṟiṅkal* 'in those' (US I 17)

(g) Mixed cases There are many adverbial past participles used as post-positions to 'illuminate case meanings' in Modern Malayalam Some of these are attested in early MP also *alliṭṭai-n iṭiṉkkoṭu* 'by the lotus girl' (US Prologue 5), *kaiyilniṉṟu* 'from the hand' (US I 3)

4 18 Syntax

Adjective noun concord, is found in many cases though in Modern Malayalam it has become obsolete *tampurāṉ puririye māyaṉai araṉai* 'the lord, the enemy of Puras, the one with illusion, Hara (ac) (AP. v 36)

To form the structure RP + N, the augmentary particles *ō - cila* are found used as in *candramarikkaḷākiṉṟō cila*

karpūrattiri 'the camphor wicks that are the rays of moon' (UA p 102), *kontātavō cila gunaganam* 'such qualities that are worthy of euologising' (US I 12)

When words are compounded some are used with suffixes which is against convention *munṭakkalkkannorutilakamām unnunilivıyōgam* 'separation from Uṉnunili, who is an ornament of Muṉṭakkal family' (US I 32)

Strange usages like *mevinṟavāṟu* in the sense of *mēvunnatu* 'remaining' (US I 5), [illegible] in the sense of *nilkkunnatu* 'standing' (UŚ I 75) etc are found widely Another strange form is *eṉu* as in *teliyeṉu sura* 'the nectar that is honey' (UA p 107) This *eṉu* changes to *eṉṉum* in later period, cf *pūntotteṉṉum mula* 'the breast that is a flower cluster' (US I 95)

4 19 Conclusion

(1) MP is a technical term, used to denote a particular school of literature written in a mixed language, said to be an intimate combination of *kēraḷabhāsa* and inflected Skt forms

(2) It originated as a language movement, though it took the shape of a literary school in the later period

(3) *Keralabhāṣa*, the basic language of the mixture, is beyond any doubt, the spoken language of the *traivarṇika* class, the superstratum of the then Kerala society

(4) In those days two more social strata existed the *pāmara*, the mid-stratum, and another *hiṉajātayah*, the lowest stratum MP had nothing to do with the language of these classes

(5) Though a literary work cannot be expected to reflect the spoken language (even if it be of a particular class), we have to assume that it may manifest the essential characteristics

of the language to a considerable extent, for, literary dialect cannot be a systematised product of the medium of intercourse of the given class

(6) The grammatical speculations of LT, the only available treatise on MP, may be unreliable, as it seems to follow the Centamil grammarians closely Yet, its observations regarding the spoken language of the period cannot be overlooked

(7) Some scholars tend to introduce the language of *pāṭṭu* literature as *bhāṣāmiśram*, with a misleading notion that the same also is a mixture of *keraḷabhāṣa* and the language of Tamilnadu But the authors of such works seem to swear that they are writing in Tamil where the term Tamil denotes the native tongue of Kerala Kunjan Pillai correctly observes that *bhāṣāmiśram* was the medium of intercourse of the upper class, from which MP sprang up as a school of literature

(8) It is admittedly sure that *keraḷabhaṣa* of the upper class reached evolutionary saturation by about 1500 A D and the developed state is well represented in the work called CM Thus a demarcation becomes feasible in the history of MP, viz early MP (upto 1500 A D) and later MP (after 1500 A D)

(9) The later MP is rich with works of different literary forms like *campu*, *āṭṭakkatha* dramas and *mahakāvya* Neverthelesss, the early MP is, however, not too poor to be unable to supply with materials for the study of the evolution of its basic language

(10) Elision of word final consonants, interchange of the vowels */i/* and */u/*, orthographical representation of */ai/* for */ay/* and */ey/*, regressive assimilation of dentals, nasal assimilation of plosives, use of */ṉr/* in lieu of */ṉṉ/* or */ṉṯ/*, etc. are the notable phonological characteristics, when compared to Modern Malayalam

(11) Almost all the moods and tenses are attested in the early MP period itself, though some of the forms differ from those of Modern Malayalam, Anyway, a student of language can very well follow the path of development depending on the materials preserved

(12) Participles and secondary formations are also met with

(13) The systems of gender, number and case, are the same as in Modern Malayalam The differences in forms are mainly phonological

(14) We may come across some strange usages like *koṇṭātavō cila* etc , which do not form part of the general characteristics of early MP

(15) A survey from the earliest available MP work upto CM would reveal that three or four centuries before 1500 A D. can be taken to be the formative period of *kēraḷabhāṣa* of the *traivarnika* class

SOURCES

(1) AP *Anantapuravarṇaṉam.* (ed) Suranad Kunjān Pillai, 1971.

(2) CM *Candrōtsavam.* (ed) Ilamkulam Kunjan Pillai, 1962.

(3) KG *Kṛṣṇagātha.* (Index Verborum) V R Prabodhachandran in MALAYALAM - A LINGUISTIC DESCRIPTION, 1973.

(4) LT *Līlātilakam.* (ed) Ilamkulam Kunjan Pillai, 1962.

(5) UA *Uṇṇiyaccicaritam* (ed) P K Narayana Pillai, 1970

(6) UC *Uṇṇiccirutēvicaritam* (ed) P V Krishnan Nair, 1966

(7) US *Uṇṇunīlisandēśam.* (ed) Ilamkulam Kunjan Pillai, 1968.

(8) UT *Uṇṇiyāticaritam.* (ed) Suranadu Kunjan Pillai, 1971.

(9) VT. *Vaiśikatantram.* (quoted) Ilamkulam Kunjam Pillai in *Sāhityacaritrasamgraham,* 1968.

5

V. R. PRABODHACHANDRAN NAYAR

Language of the Pāttu School of Literature

5. 1. The Triple Stream :

It has now generally been accepted that the early literature in Malayalam evolved as a triple stream consisting of the following major currents : *pāṭṭu*, *maṇipravāḷam* and *nāṭaṉpāṭṭu*. Of these, the last mentioned, namely *nāṭaṉpāṭṭu*, represents the embodiment of native elements, eschewing the foreign features to the maximum possible extent. The poets who wrote these folk songs are held to belong to the so called 'Pure Malayalam School'. *maṇipravāḷam* is the outcome of literary activities of poets belonging to the 'Sanskrit School' whereas *pāṭṭu* or the song-mould has taken shape from contributions of poets of the 'Tamil School' (George, 1958).

Kerala's wealth of folk-poetry is quite considerable. There are all kinds of folk song inseparably linked to the nonverbal behaviour of the members of the speech community. As regards the majority of them it is impossible to determine the date of composition. And we cannot have any definite idea about the oldest or original forms of such popular poems, since, as a rule, they assume the garb of contemporary language with all its local, communal and social colourings. The language employed in the folk songs generally incorporates the maximum amount of native elements, particularly features of the local dialects, so as to be in tune with the most natural colloquial speech styles of the common masses with whom the folk poet proposed to establish communication.

Ayyippilla Asan's *Rāmakathappāṭṭu* (lit. 'The Song of Rama's story'), a colossal work composed about 500 years back, is a typical representative of folk epics meant to be sung before the masses. The language is a mixture of colloquial Tamil and Old Malayalam reflecting many features of the bilingual dialect spoken in South Travancore which is the place of origin of this folk epic (Narayana Pillai, 1970).

As per the famous definition and illustration in *Līlā-tilakam*, the best type of *maṇipravāḷam* would resemble a garland of rubi *(maṇi)* and coral *(pravāḷam)* in as much as it involves the harmonious blending of the most familiar and the most euphonic Sanskrit words which preserve their inflectional endings and Malayalam words that are commonly used by educated and cultured Keralites. *maṇipravāḷam* is the output of the poets belonging to the Sanskrit School. The most predominant formal categories of literary expression found in *maṇipravāḷam* are *Campu*, *Sandēśakāvya* and short or long poems ranging from one to many stanzas composed in Sanskrit metres. The majority of *maṇipravāḷam* compositions have popular heroines who were *dēvadāsis* as their centres of attraction. As regards the texture of language, most of the

works in the *maṇipravālam* tradition mark the peak of Sanskrit influence

Līlātilakam incidentally refers to the *pāṭṭu* school with very clear marks of Tamil influence in abundance To be considered *pāṭṭu*, the composition in question should satisfy certain specific conditions concerning the sound system, the patterns of rhyme and the metre The *pāṭṭu* proper should be composed strictly of sounds represented by the Dravidian or Tamil alphabet (that is to say, it should be devoid of fricatives and aspirated and/or voiced varieties of plosives), it should contain two different patterns of rhyme, one called *etuka* involving the second syllable of all the four feet of a stanza or verse and the other called *mōṉa* concerning the initial syllables of successive halves of each foot, above all it should be written in non-Sanskritic metres

5 2 Rāmacaritam

Rāmacaritam of the late 12th century by Cirāmaṉ dealing with the subject matter of the *yuddhakāṇḍa* in *Rāmāyaṇa* has till very recently been taken to be the only major work that has come down to us as a true representative of the *pāṭṭu* school But now *Tiruniḻalmāla* assigned to the 13th century and written by one Govindan describing some rituals in the *Pārthasārathi* temple in Āṟanmula has also reached the hands of discerning readers

Scholars have differed vastly in their opinion regarding the nature of the language of *Rāmacaritam* Some considered it as Tamil, others thought that it is an artificial mixture of Malayalam and Tamil parallelling *maṇipravālam* which involved blending of Malayalam and Sanskrit Some others viewed that it reflects the colloquial language current during the period in its place of origin which most scholars hold to be somewhere in southern Kerala (George, 1958 175-183)

A close reading of *Rāmacaritam* in comparison with the early inscriptions and the contemporary *maṇipravālam* works

gives the impression that it is composed in a style appropriate to a narrative work of classic dimensions and intended to be read by ordinary people As in the case of any creative piece of writing, inevitably certain modifications and sophistications have been effected by the author, on the language of the day to day life of the common masses The language of *Rāmacaritam* is artificial only to this extent. Almost all linguistic peculiarities attested in *Rāmacaritam* are essentially features characteristic of the language of that period (Purushothaman Nair, 1980 89)

The evolution of Malayalam from the language of the early inscriptions to the stage represented by *Rāmacaritam* is quite considerable The greatest constraint the genre has placed on the language of *Rāmacaritam* is the restriction to the Dravidian sound system The Sanskrit component in the total stock of lexical items in *Rāmacaritam* is sizable indeed, but when it was accommodated within the phonological patterns permissible by the Dravidian alphabet the work appeared to assume an over - all form that looked strange to average Keralites who were continuously exposed to Sanskrit through various means among which compositions in *maṇipravāḷam* also had a predominant place

5.3 Tiruniḷalmāla :

Tiruniḷalmāla appears to represent a stage of further evolution of the song - mould *Rāmacaritam* is composed in four-feet stanzas among whom the successive ones in a given section (*paṭalam*) are interconnected by the *antādi* device which is essentially the repetition of some part of the last line of a verse carried out in the first line of the closely following verse. The narration in *Tiruniḷalmāla* proceeds in the form of both four-feet stanzas as well as couplets The linking device of *antādi* and the half-foot rhyme called *mōṉa* have been more or less discarded in this work The style of narration in *Rāmacaritam* is definitely at a much grander level than that in *Tiruniḷalmāla*

Not only in regard to the stock of lexical items attested, but also as regards peculiar features concerning phonology, morphophonemics and grammar, the language of *Tiruniḷalmāla* reflects the language of the land during the period of its composition It represents a systematic evolution from the language of the inscriptions and that of *Rāmacaritam* (Purushothaman Nair, 1981 14-18)

5 4 Niraṇam Works

It is not sure whether Madhava, the author of *Bhāṣā-bhagavadgīta*, Sankara who authored *Bhāratamāla* and Rama who wrote *Rāmāyaṇam*, [illegible] and *Śivarātrimāhātmyam* belonged to the same family or school of poetry But the contributions of these three great poets of the 15th century, known as *Niraṇam* works or *Kaṇṇaśśan* songs bear considerable resemblances in the structure of language, style and metre Verses of the *Niraṇam* poets mark the continuation of the song - mould tradition represented by *Rāmacaritam*, although the restriction to the Dravidian alphabet has become non-effective by this time, since unassimilated Sanskrit words have been used in these works, wherever needed The streams of the song - mould and *maṇipravāḷam* seem to approach each other in the *Kannaśśan* songs Many verses in these works will sound like *maṇipravāḷam* but for the metre which is, in general, *tarangiṇi* or its variations

The style of the *Niraṇam* poets draws its vitality and versatility from three different sources namely Malayalam, Tamil and Sanskrit Viewed against the background of *Rāmacaritam*, *Niraṇam* works present a greater frequency of forms exhibiting palatal and nasal assimilations and of nominal forms ending in / a / rather than in / ai / This is clearly an indication of the language of the song - mould moving away from the features characteristic of Tamil and approximating certain individualistic features of Malayalam The *Niraṇam* works abound in *tatsama* (i e , unassimilated) loanwords from

Sanskrit, written in an alphabet providing sufficient room to accommodate any Sanskrit expression with no subtantial change in phonological form. This appears to reflect, at least to a certain extent, the general attitude of the Keralites towards Sanskrit loanwords, particularly with reference to the amount of phonological adaptation and modification desirable in such borrowing.

5. 5. Kṛṣṇagātha :

Kṛṣṇagātha, written in the 15th century by Ceṛuśśeri Nampūtiri, handling the theme of *daśamaskandha* of *Mahābhāgavata* in about 17,000 lines of elegant poetry composed mostly in the *mañjari* metre, has a unique position among the classics in Malayalam. Although the metrical structure of *Kṛṣṇagātha* is strikingly unconventional and reminds us of certain Dravidian folk songs of the past, Ceṛuśśeri's work can rightly be counted as the first great poetical composition or *mahākāvyam* in Malayalam satisfying most of the requirements stipulated by authorities like Daṇḍin for recognition as a work belonging to that genre. *Kṛṣṇagātha* is singularly free from most of the archaisms and unfamiliar constructions commonly met with in the language of earlier classics such as *Rāmacaritam* and the *Kaṇṇaśśan* songs. Striking a very clear contrast with the language of such early classics, *Kṛṣṇagātha* sounds exquisitely simple, modern and familiar to an average Malayāḷi. Works like *Rāmacaritam* and *Kaṇṇaśśarāmāyaṇam* are seldom read, and to most Malayāḷis their language sounds more or less strange. But parts of *Kṛṣṇagātha* have always been favourite selections for study or recitation by students at almost all levels from the lower primary to the post-graduate, and also for choral singing or for regular reading. Taken out of the context many couplets in *Kṛṣṇagātha* are likely to be mistaken for portions of a poem of the present century like *Karmabhūmiyuṭe Piñcukāl* (by Vallathol) employing the same metre as that of *Kṛṣṇagātha*. In view of the above, treating *Kṛṣṇagātha* as a significant text representing

the demarcation of modern literary Malayalam from the old appears justifiable *Kṛṣṇagātha* seems to have set a model for how creative writers could synthesize various positive factors abstracted from all the three main schools of literary expression in the past High frequency of colloquial forms of speech, proverbs, didactic statements and idiomatic expressions, action-oriented presentation, marks of improvisation, spontaneity, avoidance of classical technicalities, local colourings and ample possibilities of variation and experimentation in musical rendering observable in *Kṛṣṇagātha*, from the above viewpoint, appear to be contributions from folk songs (Prabodhachandran Nayar, 1970 & 1973, Bhaskaran, 1973) Lexical items borrowed from Sanskrit in great number either in the *tadbhava* (i e, assimilated) form or in the *tatsama* form with or without inflectional endings, sandhi, compounding and specially idiomatic expressions following the patterns in Sanskrit and also typical figures of speech and poetic conventions borrowed from the Sanskrit tradition by Ceruśśeri remind us of the *maṇipravālam* school At the same time the poet has taken great care in avoiding too much of expressions germane to Sanskrit and retains certain predominant features of the song-mould such as the Puranic nature of the theme, skill in condensing and employment of rhymes like *etuka* Marking the confluence of the three main streams of literary output in early Malayalam, *Kṛsnagātha* has thus taken the language of the Malayalam poetry to a significant step which was later modified by Eḻuttacchan and others to suit the purposes they had in hand

5 6 Eḻuttacchan

In the Parrot Songs (*kiḷippāṭṭu*) of Eḻuttacchan (second half of the 16th century and the beginning of the 17th) we see the harmonious blending together of the *maṇipravālam* style and the song - mould type of narration The metres like *kēka, kākali* and *annanaṭa* which attained a remarkable

level of perfection at Eluttacchan's hands are employed even now by many Malayalam poets with little or no modification

The language of Eluttacchan's works do not manifest any revolutionary change from the language of *Kṛṣṇagātha* The contribution of Eluttacchan lies in demonstrating to what extent the standard language of poetic composition in Malayalam can draw from Sanskrit on the one hand and from Tamil on the other Eluttacchan's technique of standardizing the blending of the *maṇipravāḷam* and the *pāṭṭu* styles did have long standing effect Even in the present day, poets are seen to resort to more or less the same techniques No wonder Eluttacchan came to be called 'the father of the Malayalam language', although on close scrutiny from a scientific view-point, such titles mean little or nothing other than providing clues to understand the attitude of the people.

5 7. Pūntānam, Nampiyār and Vāriyar :

Pūntānam Nampūtiri's highly devotional and didactic poems are reputed for their simple and lucid style. Among them *Jñānappāna* and *Santānagōpālam* represent the continuation of the song-mould tradition and are closely followed by the *tuḷḷal* songs of Kuñcan Nampiyār (18th century). The simplest but most powerful language employed in the *tuḷḷal* songs deserves an important position among the various factors which made them popular with all the sections of the speech community

Rāmapurattu Vāriyar's *Kucēlavṛttam vañcippāṭṭu* (Boat Song) of the 18th century manifests a texture of the language very much different from that of the *tuḷḷal* songs. In general the language of *vañcippāṭṭu* is much remote from the language of day to day life of average Malayāḷis due to the presence in it of many circumlocutionary expressions like passivisation involving the verbal form *peṭuka*

The styles of Pūntānam, Nampiyār and Vāriyar touch different levels of the appealing, expressive, aesthetic and com-

municative functions of language In regard to phonology, morphophonemics, morphology, syntax and vocabulary the language in these works represent a stage after the various parameters of the language of Malayalam poetry have undergone varying degrees of standardization at the hands of great masters of the preceding centuries, namely Eḻuttacchan and Ceruśśeri

5 8 Conclusion

In more than one sense an investigator may follow the line of development of the language of the old *pāṭṭu* School of literature even to the present day The metrical patterns, rhyme of the second syllables in the component feet of a couplet and archaisms like finite verbal forms with personal endings observed in most samples of contemporary Malayalam poetry deserve special attention in this connection No doubt a study of the changes undergone by the language of expression employed by the poets of the *pāṭṭu* School reveals the most important landmarks in the historical evolution of the Malayalam language as a whole No other literary genre in Malayalam seems to have the credit of being so significant on this count

The fact that this genre was, in general, addressed to the most ordinary among the people of Kerala may also be underlined in this connection The authors themselves have stated that *Rāmacaritam* is for *ūḻiyil ceṟiyavarkku* 'for commoners in the world', *Kaṇṇaśśarāmāyaṇam* for *mandaprajñanmārkku* 'for not-so-wise', *Kṛṣṇagātha* for *ajñarāyuḷḷōrkku* 'for illiterates', *Adhyātmarāmāyaṇam* for *bōdhahīnanmārkku* 'for intellectually inferior people' and the *tuḷḷal* songs for *bhaṭajanannaḷe paṭayanikku* 'for the rank and file' The success achieved by these poets in this domain is, to a great extent, brought about by the factors that contributed to the appealing function of their language

6

N. R. GOPINATHA PILLAI

Standardization of Poetical Language

6.1. Introduction :

Whatever be the differences of opinion on its affinity towards other Dravidian languages, particularly Tamil, it is clear that, at least from the beginning of Kollam Era (825 A D.), Malayalam shows the signs of independent growth. The earliest known inscription from Kerala is ascribed to the ninth century. A close study of early available inscriptions leads us to the obvious conclusion that Malayalam during this period was in the process of asserting itself as an independent language (Kunjan Pillai, 1959 : 42) which status it could attain by about the end of the thirteenth century. The records of successive centuries in this period show a gradual increase of native innovations and a subsequent decrease of archaisms. The impact

of the Aryan language and the peculiar politico-religious climate prevailing in the Westcoast would certainly have helped in this drifting of the language from its parental abode.

The beginning of the Kollam Era witnessed many developments of far-reaching consequences in Kerala Linguistically, it is a significant period. The Aryans and their culture were meeting with a more salutory welcome in Kerala than ever before. The atmosphere was so congenial that Aryans began to regard the new land 'a home away from their home'. They mingled freely with the locals alluring them to accept the Aryan culture. Resistances, if any, were easily won over and ultimately their identification with the natives was total. But this was not simply a case of the nativization of an alien group. The process went farther. The importation of the Vedic faith into Kerala resulted in the establishment of temples which later became the nuclei of social life attracting liberal contributions from rulers, chieftains and other rich people. Nampūtiri brahmins, as spiritual perceptors, naturally rose in status becoming the custodians of the temple property. They not only became the landlords but virtually the *bhūsura* (Gods of Earth) class. The ownership of the land and the spiritual leadership of the people together with their erudition made the brahmins the most potent group of people. This supremacy has also brought about significant changes in the local speech. The language of the Aryans (Sanskrit or one of its dialects) gradually made compromises with the local language leading to the overall development of the latter. New tendencies cropped up in the language of Kerala as a result of large-scale borrowings of words, idioms and other forms of expression from the Aryan language. Sanskrit language was in fact the most influential factor in the evolution of Malayalam language.

6.2. Two Movements :

Early Malayalam had two distinct linguistic-cum-literary movements : *pāṭṭu* (P) and *maṇipravāḷam* (MP). Some scholars,

in addition, posit *pacca* (pure) Malayalam school (George, 1956) The existence of a pure Malayalam school, completely free of Tamil or Sanskrit influence is only a convenient conjecture The folk-songs cited as examples, some of them at least, are apparently of recent origin The credibility of the supposed antiquity of the rest is equivocal The native elements present in some of them show features of comparative modernity Early folk-songs, in all probability, must have been composed in a language replete with Tamil forms. Consequently, they must have not been significantly different from the folk-songs of the neighbouring Tamil regions except in some colloquialisms

Līlātilakam (LT) defines MP as the union of *Kēralabhāṣa* (KB) and Sanskrit LT recognizes two types of KB, the 'high' and the 'low', the former being the language of the upper classes and the latter that of the illiterates The upper stratum consists of the people of the higher three classes of the then social hierarchy and the lower stratum, of the rest LT has mentioned not only the names of these two linguistic varieties but also has elucidated them further The higher language attests changes like the nasal assimilation of the type *nk* > *nn*, *ñc* > *ññ* and *nt* > *nn* The change of *ai* > *a* in the word-final and word-medial positions, palatalization of dentals after front vowels and elision of the neuter singular marker *-rru* are also attributed to this upper language Thus, the native elements of MP is practically destitute of Tamilisms Therefore, it is safe to assume that the term *bhāṣa* used in the definition of MP is essentially the language of the elite

The definition of P and its commentary in LT project certain facts very clearly (1) MP and P are differentiated in *bhāṣa* content MP freely uses Sanskrit sounds P, in contrast, forbids the voiceless aspirated, voiced, and voiced aspirated stops, and sibilants. This restriction has imposed a heavy burden on P- poems (2) MP has no restrictions in prosodic matters as nothing is mentioned about the use of alliterations and the metres MP is admissable even in prose (3) No explicit mention

has been made on the nature of the language of P. The commentary of the first *sūtra* in the first chapter of LT has, on the other hand, pointed out the nature of KB to be employed in MP. The definition and commentary on P are significantly silent on the nature of *bhāṣa*, except in mentioning that P is replete with forms akin to Tamil. This statement together with the insistence that the language of MP should, by and large, be high and sophisticated makes it clear that the *bhāṣa* of P is predominently low and non-sophisticated. This low language is referred to as the speech of illiterates elsewhere in LT. The commentary of the first *sūtra* of the second chapter states that the illiterates of Kerala use forms like *vantān, iruntān, tēṅka, māṅka*, etc. The forms cited show that the nasal assimilation and the dropping of the personal makers in finite verbs were not prevalent in the language of the low castes. MP, at the same time, exhibits such changes. This is a marked difference between P and MP and is very important in the discussion of the standardization of the poetical dialect in Malayalam.

6.3. Development of the P-Dialect :

Two distinct poetical dialects, it is clear, have thus been in vogue until about the fifteenth century. Malayalam has several excellent poetical compositions representing the development of these genres of poetry. *Rāmacaritam* (RC), ascribed to the twelfth century, is the earliest extant representative of the P-dialect. RC satisfies all the requirements of a P-poem. The Dravidian sounds alone are used in this work. Sanskrit sounds in loans are dravidianized : *hara* > *ara* 'Lord Siva'; *yogī* > *yōki* 'monk'; *jñāṇam* > *ñāṇam* 'knowledge'. The alliterations, *etuka* and *mōṉa*, have scrupulously been followed. The metres used are also Dravidian. Thus, in all respects, RC is a typical P-poem. The *bhāṣa*, it can be inferred, must be construed to be reflecting traits of the *hīṉabhāṣa* of the time. The author, *Cīrāman*, in all probability, was a profound scholar adept in both Sanskrit and Tamil. The genre used perhaps is

the chief factor responsible for the peculiarity of its language structure

The compositions of the celebrated Niraṇam poets represent a developed phase of P The Niranam works are land-marks in the history of the growth of the P-dialect Though they are generally grouped with P-poems, they show certain distinctive characteristics The restriction that P should use only Dravidian sounds is not followed in Niraṇam works They have freely incorporated Sanskrit words with the non-Dravidian sounds The first song of the *Rāmāyanam* contains, for example, the following Sanskrit forms *āṉandāmṛtasāram, aśēṣam, jagat, ādi bhūtam, nidhāṉam, svarūpam, dīṉam, divyātmāṉām* This free use of Sanskrit sounds was a bold venture and was, in fact, a salutatory contribution to the standardization of Malayalam poetical dialect

The innovations of the Niraṇam poets made the P-genre more effective and more potent They brought P and MP closer The exclusive use of Tamil sounds gave P a Tamil semblance The restrictions in prosody made it further akin to Tamil The boldness of the Niraṇam poets in employing Sanskrit *tatsama* words in P reduced the archaisms and brought it nearer to time The changes effected by them not only brought forth considerable changes in P-poetry but elevated it to a different plane giving it a *maṇipravāla* touch

The expression '*maṇipravāḷa* touch' is significant Niraṇam poets, it is true, have adopted Sanskrit words in great measure It is equally true that sanskritization helped P to come closer to MP The prosodic peculiarities and the use of archaic expressions were still in vogue These gave a strong impression on the reader that P was yet to be freed from the clutches of Tamil.

6.4. A Unique Poetical Composition

Ceruśśēri stands between Niraṇam poets and Eḷuttacchan His magnum opus, *Kṛṣṇappāṭṭu* (also called *Kṛṣṇagātha*)

technically and in name is a P-poem The diction maintains the P-style throughout, though in a refined form *Krsnagātha* (KG) has often puzzled historians They have difficulty in explaining its linguistic pecularity Linguistically the work is a step ahead from the Nirapam works While Nirapam works retain Tamilisms, KG displays in a great measure the characteristics of modern Malayalam This is the very fact that puzzled the scholars Ceruśśeri was basically a MP poet His vocabulary, diction, expressions, etc are MP-oriented He skilfully filtered the *bhāṣa* elements removing the Sanskrit slit from MP through a peculiar process of linguistic distillation This resulted in giving his language a new texture which is quite different from either P or MP He made extensive use of the Dravidian metres In essence, he tried to blend the *bhāṣa* content of MP to the diction of P

This experiment produced a healthy result P became more and more akin to MP The cleavage that once existed slowly began to dissappear The P-medium became more popular The Tamilisms receded from the P-poetry The popularization of P, thus, is one of the significant contributions of Ceruśśeri

6 5. The Standardization

The gradual development of P and MP which were parallel streams in the early period started showing signs of merger and eventually reached a stage of complete fusion as a result of the P-poets incorporating MP elements scrupulously The shedding of Tamilism made the P-poetry an effective medium Early P-poets throughout kept the candles of devotion, valour and other lofty sentiments alight On the other hand, the early MP poetry, with only very few exceptions, concentrated on sensual themes These distinctive characteristics of these two genres of poetry both in language and content did not persist for long. By about the sixteenth century, the distinctiveness lost its significance and the chief harbinger of this unification process was none other than the most honoured seer-poet of Kerala, Tuñcat Eluttacchan

Eluttacchan, therefore, should be considered as the notable representative of the standardization process that happened in the poetical language of Kerala His is an epoch-making period Malayalam poetry attained new heights, perhaps one of its zeniths, in his time His creations sharpened the aesthetic sensibilities, created a new awareness, set new standards in poetic diction, opened new vistas of creative excellence and, in fact, metamorphosed the literary outlook of later generations

Eluttacchan's contributions to language are varied and of permanent value As he was a genius, he imbibed what was best from the past and gave a fillip to what was acceptable in his period and stood as a harbinger of new and enduring tendencies He outshone all his contemporary poets and pushed his predecessors like Kaṇṇaśśa poets into oblivion Linguistically, his importance lies chiefly in his superb skill by which he synthesised the earlier divergent poetical dictions, the P and the MP, in a more acceptable way than what have been attempted to by others in the past Everything good in P and MP got a fair deal from him *Addhyātmarāmāyanam*, his first major work, betrays Sanskrit influence more than his other creations, especially the *Mahābhāratam* Sanskrit words with the original declensions and conjugations and long Sanskrit compounds abound in his work Some portions of his works, more especially the lines eulogising the deities, are written in pure Sanskrit itself Eluttacchan's work, notwithstanding this, satisfies almost all the requisites of MP His metrical innovation perhaps alone will be the factor which links his works with P He chiselled the metres used in folk songs into a cogent vehicle of expression and made out a new form of literary expression characterised by the vitality of P and the felicity of MP The *bhāṣa* he used has the chasteness of MP Everything acceptable in MP has been accepted and incorporated but at the same time inherent features of P have been retained in his diction In this manner his main contribution to the poetical language was a kind of fusion of the good elements of MP, P and folk songs.

Eḻuttacchan's language is not an innovation but only an improvement of the erstwhile linguistic currents Early works like *Rāmāyana* display the marks of his experiments more vividly than his later works- particularly *Mahābhāratam* He has reduced the use of archaic words to the minimum His works disseminate modernity more than those of his predecessors Tamilisms were completely discarded and the language appears fresh and rejuvenated And this is the main contribution of Eḻuttacchan towards the standization of poetical dialect of Malayalam

6 6 Conclusion

When we look into the early works, it could readily be seen that the language of the works originating from Southern Kerala showed signs of Tamilsm more than those of the Northern Kerala *Rāmacaritam* is believed to have been written by a poet belonging to the South This view has not been unqestionably proved The 'Tamilisms' found in *Rāmacaritam* could perhaps be ascribed to its place of origin The same is true in respect of the 14th century work, *Rāmakathappāṭṭu* The rapid absorption of Sanskrit and consequent freedom from Tamil were more perceived in the areas from where Ceruśśeri and Eḻuttacchan came What later became the poetic dialect of Malayalam was this northern and central dialect which showed more sanskritization in language retaining at the same time the fundamental Dravidian characteristics in respect of vocabulary and metrical system

7

P. E. D. NAMBOODIRI

The Language of Inscriptions

7 1. Introduction ·

During the period from 1910 to 1938 about twelve thousand inscriptions from South India have been published in 19 volumes by the Epigraphy Department of the Government of India. Among these, only 31 are from the Malabar area. From the former Cochin territory we get about a dozen inscriptions which were published in the Epigraphic Supplement of the Bulletin of the Rama Varma Research Institute from 1931 to 1949. Inscriptions from the former Travancore region and a few from Cochin have been published in 9 volumes as Travancore Archaeological Series (TAS: 1910–1949) which contain numerous Tamil inscriptions also. After the formation of Kerala State no publication of inscriptions came forth from governmental institutions

V R Parameswaran Pillai, former Epigraphist of Travancore, has published a book (1963) which contains both published and unpublished inscriptions Kunjunni Raja (1962) has copied the longest golden plate inscription from London Office Library In M G S Narayanan's work on Kerala history (1971) there are 8 inscriptions which the author himself deciphered and explained Recently two Malayalam inscriptions were published by K G Krishnan (1975)

7 2 Study of Inscriptions - Earlier Stage.

Both Caldwell and Gundert have indicated the importance of study of inscriptions In fact, Gundert was responsible in deciphering Tarisāppaḷḷi inscriptions of Sthāṇuravi and also Jewish Copper Plates of Bhāskara Ravi Varman Though Gundert's decipherments were imperfect, the publication of these inscriptions attracted the attention of a number of scholars chiefly because of the socio-cultural significance of their contents A R Rajaraja Varma in his introduction to *Kēraḷapāṇinīyam*, quoting from a historical source, assigned the date of Viraraghava Plate to 775 A D (Rajaraja Varma, 1974 90 91) It was later proved that this plate belonged to the thirteenth century A D It was Caldwell who assigned the earlier date to this plate subscribing to the opinion of Gundert While Rajaraja Varma was preparing his introduction to his grammar, 15 parts of the TAS had already been published Had he consulted these volumes he could have arrived at a different conclusion in respect of his 'theory on palatalisation' Notice the palatalised forms occurring in the Tamil inscriptions related to the period between the 10th and the 15th centuries

(1) *kaliyuga nālāyirattaiññūṯṯai*
(TAS. I-VI p 97 line 12)

(2) *añcu vakaippatta parikāramum kūṭi*
(TAS I-VI p. 99 line 14)

(3) *cōḷakulavalli vaicca tiruṉuntā viḷakku*
(TAS I-III p 161 line 7)

(4) *cāvāmūvāpērāṭu irupattañcu koṇṭu*
(TAS Vol I p 240 line 4)

Consider the examples (2) and (4) in the above The word for numeral 'five' in these Tamil inscriptions appears exactly as in Modern Malayalam Meenakshisundaram (1965 126) has described this tendency of palatalisation in Tamil inscriptions during the Pallava, Coḷa and Nayka periods So this is a sound change shared both by Tamil and Malayalam in historic times and subsequently retained only in Malayalam in full while in Tamil the tendency is restricted to the spoken dialect

L V Ramaswamy Ayyar (L V R) was[1] among the first who utilised the materials available in TAS and South Indian Inscriptions to reconstruct the development of Malayalam language In his 'Evolution of Malayalam Morpology' (1936) and 'Primer of Malayalam Phonology' (1940) L V R cites copiously from inscriptions He has used undated inscriptions also but his conclusions are not vitiated as he traced the history of Malayalam morphemes from other sources also He observes "The relationship between Malayalam (in its earliest stages) and Early Middle Tamil may best be represented graphically by two circles (one standing for Malayalam and the other for Early Middle Tamil) overlapping each other for the greater part but also possessing extensions on either side to indicate archivisms peculiar to each" (Ramaswamy Ayyar, 1936)

Goda Varma (1951) attempted to disprove L V R 's view He pointed out that inscriptions are highly influenced by Tamiḷ and cited in support a document written in Kollam era 25 (850 A D) which was in pure Malayalam Ilamkulam Kunjan Pillai however, questioned the date of the document and argued his case for its date being not earlier than nineteenth century A D

The 'Evolution of Malayalam' by A C Sekhar (1953) is a pioneering study of Malayalam inscriptions He has chosen

only 34 inscriptions of which seven are copper plates In fact, the earliest records of his study relate to the first half of 9th century A D. and the latest to that of the 13th century It contains the study of 4859 words found in the inscriptions The approach is scientific and the treatment of the material systematic Unlike Ilamkulam, Sekhar is entirely dependent on the epigraphist for the text of inscriptions and consequently his conclusions are vitiated by the mistakes they made He called the period of his study as the study of the Early Old Malayalam (For a critical review of Sekhar's work see Narayanan & Namboodri, 1970)

In Kunjan Pillai (1953), 22 inscriptions are examined He claims that his work is the first attempt to trace the history of Malayalam language from its formation upto the thirteenth century He seems to have been haunted by some preconceived notions about the evolution of Malayalam, immigration of brahmins into Kerala, the origin of *marumakkattāyam*, predominence of Nampūtiris in social and cultural life of Kerala, the *jaṉmi* system, origin of *maṇipravāḷam*, etc For all these historical, social, cultural, economic and linguistic aspects, he placed much reliance on inscriptions It is a fact that all these factors contributed for the evolution of Malayalam and enough materials can be collected from the inscriptions to establish some theories He ignores some of the footnotes of the epigraphists and gives his own readings Most of the important inscriptions published in the Travancore Archaeological Series were in Tamil script and the superintendents who published these inscriptions did not know Malayalam which created a lot of problems

7 3 Decipherment

It was during the 19th century that our scholars began to turn their attention to inscriptions It is a fact that during British regime the revenue officials used to report the existance of inscriptions on the temple walls, churches, and even in the burial places Crude methods were employed to

decipher the inscriptions with the result that most of the inscriptions are defectively deciphered Instances are too numerous to deserve mention

Several scripts were employed to inscribe the language *Vaṭṭeuḷuttu* is the oldest script An analysis of *vaṭṭeḷuttu* scripts was given by T A Gopinatha Rao in TAS Vol I *grantha* scripts also appear in most of the inscriptions when they contain Sanskrit words Sometimes it is possible to infer the probable century in which an inscription was written from the shape of the scripts Only by the end of the 14th century we get inscriptions in Malayalam scripts By that time literary compositions began to flourish We have to master the *vaṭṭeḷuttu* to enter into the field of old Malayalam inscriptions Sanskrit, Palhavi, Hebru, Arabic, and Tamil are some of the other scripts used besides *vaṭṭeḷuttu* and *grantha*

The most difficult task for an epigraphist is to decide the date on which an inscription is engraved, when the inscription does not contain any reference to the date Some inscriptions refer to Kali era, some the Kollam era and some the reignal year of the kings Inscriptions of the period of the Kulāśēkhara dynasty i e Rājaśēkhara, Sthāṇuravi, Rama Varma,, Kōta Ravi, Indukōtai and Bhāskara Ravi refer to the reignal years of the kings Collateral evidence has to be resorted to for arriving at the correct date The position of the Jupiter helps us to decide the date There are still some inscriptions which escape dating

7 4. The Importance of Inscriptions :

Inscriptions shed new light on several topics like the system of inheritence, customs among various religions, etc Land was the most important mode of production Most of the inscriptions contain regulations between the owner and the tiller Ilamkulam traces the origin of *jaṇmi* system mostly basing on inscriptions The gold coin *pon* occurs most frequently in inscriptions The penalty for violation of customs

or laws was by way of paying *pon diṉāram, alakaccu* or *accu* also figure in them The most important aspect of inscriptions is the light it throws on the history of Kerala The history of Kerala till the advent of Portugese is shrowded in mystery Ilamkulam was successful in constructing the medieval history of Kerala for the period from A D 800 to 1102 Lacunae are many but still the outlines fill the gaps of a dark period to a certain extent For the existance of trade guilds like *añcuvannam, maṇigrāmam, valañciyar* and *paṭṭanaswāmi makkaḷ*, which were responsible to connect Kerala with the outside world, inscriptions alone give clear evidence

Without a working knowledge of Sanskrit one cannot grasp the meaning of inscriptions Most of the inscriptions commence with *savastiśri* Most of the inscriptions insist to perform certain acts The finite verb used to indicate this action is *kataviyar* which is a mere translation of the Sanskrit verb in the *vidhi lin* form *tadbhava* forms of Sanskrit words are abundant in these records

Almost all the inscriptions published in the TAS volumes are in Tamil script T A Gopinatha Rao, K V Subramanya Ayyar and A S Ramanatha Ayyar were very good scholars in Tamil but they were totally ignorant of Malayalam They enriched the inscriptional materials but prevented Malayalam scholars to approach them This is a serious drawback in Malayalam inscriptional studies Even after the formation of Kerala upto the present day, no attempt was made to publish materials in Malayalam Tamil words and grammatical rules are followed as a matter of convention especially in the earlier inscriptions Some instances are cited below (Kunjan Pillai, 1959)

(1) Tamil words *cavāmūvā pēruma* (p 74), *amaitta* (p 81) *katavar* (p 81) *kontuvantu* (p 86), *arici* (p 88) *vāḷukiṉṟa* (p 96)

(2) Tamil Sandhi *aṭikaṭku* (p 74), *naṭṭuni* (p. 97)

Kunjan Pillai remarks that the practice of writing / y / before the front vowel and / v / before the back vowel is due to the connection of Namputiris with Tulunatu (Ibid 103) He enumerates 12 examples indicating the influence of Kannada on Malayalam of which these are two categories (1) loan words - *poḷutu aṉyam, paṭiññāiṟu*, (2) case forms like *venāṭṭīrku, munnāḷi arim* (ibid 104-5) He also adds that the Tulu - Kannada influence on Malayalam was predominent during the 4th century Kollam era Imitation of Sandhi rules *nellu mūṉṟu t nīraium* (ibid 75), *mēlkiḷum* (ibid 84) (in both the conjunction marker is dropped in the first word), *karkatakattil vyāḷattil* (ibid 94) (case form is added to the attribute also)

7 5 Salient Features

The salient features of the language of inscriptions which share the peculiarities of the colloquial speech during and upto the thirteenth century are given below

(1) The truncation of endings in words like *nel / nei > ne , vaippān > vaippa, kuśal (< kuśalam), cāl (< cāle), ala / al (< aḷavu)*

(2) / p / > / v and / ṭ / > / l / *iṭapam > iṭavam, annāṭi > annāḷi*

(3) Addition of formative suffixes *kolu > koluvu, viḷu > viḷvu, tōl > tuval*

(4) Reduction of conjunctive marker *rāman kṛṣṇaṉum* or *rāmaṉum kṛṣṇan*

(5) Irregular employment of case suffixes (a) The seventh case markers, *-mēl, -il* to denote fifth case relationship *purayiṭattinmēl (-ilninnu), nagarattil pōriṉṟe ayam (-ilninnu), tommilmēl kollum (-ilninnu)*, (b) Deletion of case markers from initial words of coordinate phrases *nivēdyavum kūttiṉumāyi, sabhaiyum tiruvatiyum cōkikalkkum*, (c) *-uṭe* and *-uṭaiya* as

sociative suffixes *stambhattinuṭe* (*-ilkūṭi*), *vāṇiyaruṭekkoḷḷum* (*-ōṭu*), *vilkinṟavaraḷuṭaiya upajīvippitu* (*-ōṭu kūṭi-*) (d) *-uṭe* > *ōṭu aṭṭālayōṭu pratōḷyōṭu naṭuvil, śālayōṭu simagruhattōṭiṭayuḷḷa dēśam,* (e) Dative marker in the ablative sense *atinnu koḷḷum,* (f) Accusative case for ablative *rājāvine niṅkal kollu matiniru matariku,* (g) *-āl* for locative *avan perāl eḻutuvitu* (h) *-āl* for genitive *akkarala annāṭi teruvināl kavalayilākkuvitu*

(6) Absence of gemination *ninuṭe* (< *ninnuṭe*), *pineyum* (<*pinneyum*)

(7) Prakritic style *paiṟu* (<*payiṟu*), *puraiṭam* (<*purayiṭam*)

(8) Dropping of second case marker *āna kollum* (<*ānaye-*), *ānayum paśuvum koṇṭu* (< *ānayeyum paśuvineyum-*)

(9) /y/ before front vowel and /v/ before back vowel initially *yerunāḷi* (< *irunāḷi*), *vuppaṭuka* (< *uḷppeṭuka*), *yiti* (< *iti*)

(10) /-tt-/>/-nta-/ *koṭuntu* (< *koṭuttu*)

(11) Artificial /nṟa/ *cuḻanṟu, avanṟu* (This tendency was prevalent during the 4th century Kollam era and has become quite widespread during the 6th century)

(12) Case terminations for adjectives *koṭṭumavaralkkum vilikkumavaralkkum muppattumūnṟākkum, ratnādikaḷutaya nāḷinutaya* (This type of adjective concordance is still in use in a few restricted cases *avare ellāvareyum, niṅṅaḷkku raṇṭu pērkkum,* etc)

(13) Alternate forms *anṟi - anṟiye, enṟi-enṟiye, inṟi-inṟiye*

(14) The Sanskrit word *mārgēna* is used in the sense 'on the way' in addition to its use to denote instrumentality in all contexts

(15) Sentences like *avanu paṟaññu avanu aṟiyiccu* This usage commenced from 300 K E and spread upto 700 K.E.

(16) Negative participles like *drōhiyāte, nāṇiyāte, catiyāte*, etc

(17) /v/–/m/ alternation before conjunctive marker *-um* *bhōgamum dāyamum* The appearance of /v/ in this morphophonemic context started during the 2nd century K E But during 5th century /m/– forms are seen to be more frequent.

(18) Accusative case marker *-ei* in alternation with *-e* The instances of *-ei* forms have become less frequent at the end of the 4th century K E

(19) /r/–/l/ alternation in medial clusters *karpiccu–kalpiccu, varkkala – valkkala, nārppatu–nālppatu*

(20) *tan, taṅkal* as empty morphs *avantan,* [illegible], *pariyār tankaḷ*

(21) /k/–/v/ alternation inter-vocalically in monosyllabic stems *pōkuka–pōvuka, kāvu–kāku* (This free variation persists even now) Rare instances of /k/ > /y/ is also found *palaka* > *palaya*

(22) Sanskritization of proper nouns *kōta*>*gōda*, *kollam*> *kōlambam, venpoli* > *bimbali*

(23) There are number of instances of irregular word formations sometimes involving non-standard morphological constructions and sometimes involving borrowing from dialectal forms These cannot be easily categorized A list of a few such instances are given below (The standard forms are given within the brackets wherever necessary) :

avutu (*ava*), *cilavu* (*cilatu*), *atuvu* (*ava*), *ceṟiyavu* (*ceṟiyava*), *avu* (*ava*), *ivu* (*iva*), *nāḷika* (*nāḷika*), *pariśayam* (*paricayam*), *cōtiṭam* (*jyōtiṣam*), *çōki* (*yogi*), *pōṉakam* (*bhōjaṉam*), *oḷḷō* (*ul latu*), *āvō* (*ānu*), *villāte* (*vilkkāte*)

Most of these forms began to appear from the first and second centuries K E (9th and 10th centuries A D) and was prevalent upto the sixteenth century A D

7.6 Conclusion

From the foregoing study, it is quite clear that there existed a period common to Tamil and Malayalam Hence, a comparative study of Tamil and Malayalam inscriptions during the period between 9th and 13th centuries A D will reveal hitherto unknown aspects of the development of Malayalam For example, *ceyyakkaṭavan* and *aṉupavikka-kaṭavar* are two finite verbs used in Tamil inscriptions in 1272 A D and 1290 A D respectively (Agesthialingom and Shanmugam, 1970 78–79) Same type of finite verbs appear in the 13th century Malayalam inscriptions also Tamil inscriptions are many while Malayalam inscriptions are not only few but are not properly edited leaving thus doubts about the authenticity of forms found in them Nonetheless, there are enough materials to compare Tamil and Malayalam inscriptions

8

E V. N. NAMBOODIRI

The Language of Folk Songs

8 1 Introduction :

The study of folk songs is very important in reconstructing the history of a language Unfortunately, serious studies on the Malayalam folk songs are not available Since folk songs are not recorded literature, they would have undergone changes from time to time, perhaps from place to place also It is, therefore, difficult to determine the earliest forms of these songs. Fixing the original or the correct texts of the songs considered here is beyond the scope of the present study. However, care has been taken to present the more or less acceptable texts as far as possible Basing on certain representative texts an attempt is made in this paper to survey the

notable salient features of various classes of Malayalam folk songs

8 2 Classification

Malayalam folk songs can broadly be classified on the basis of social as well as regional dialects, as suggested below

A – Based on social dialects

(1) High class This class comprises of brahmins and sub-brahmins The important songs in this group are *yātrakaḷi* songs and *Brāhmaṇippāṭṭu*

(2) Middle class Songs sung by the non-brahmin castes belonging to the middle stratum of the social hierarchy are included in this class This class of songs allows a further classification as shown below

(2a) those showing marked Sanskrit influence ex *Pāṉappāṭṭu, Bhadrakāḷippāṭṭu*

(2b) those having discernable Tamil infiluence ex *Kuṟattippāṭṭu, Śankaranpāttu, Kāṇippāṭṭu*

(2c) Others which are free from perceptible Sanskrit or Tamil influences ex *Ōṇappāṭṭu, Nāyāṭṭupāṭṭu, Āryanpāṭṭu, Śāstāmpāṭṭu*

(3) Low class Songs used by the lowest social stratum (*pulaya* class) are included in this group

B – Based on regional dialects

(4) Northern songs The ballads of North Malabar (*Vaṭakkaṉpāṭṭu*) which form a composite group of songs composed in the dialect of the northern parts of Malabar are taken as representations of this group

(5) Southern songs The songs originated from the southern part of Travancore belong to this group The language of these songs shows a heavy dose of Tamilisms ex. *Viḷḷaṭiccān pāṭṭu, Ulakuṭaperumāḷ pāṭṭu, Añcutampurān pāṭṭu*

8 3. High Class Songs

(1) *Yātrakaḷi* songs These are sung by a sub-group of Namputiri brahmins called *cāttiraru* at temples, palaces or at the residences of Namputiris on special occasions like birthday, marriage and other auspicious occasions Some consider them as the oldest (?) available folk songs in Malayalam and estimate their period as 6th century A D Characteristic features of these songs are the incorporation of Sanskrit *tatsama* and *tadbhava* forms abundantly, as a result of which the phonological features of songs include the employment of non-Dravidian sounds like voiced stops, voiced/voiceless aspirated stops and fricatives besides which Sanskritic types of consonant clusters are also found The peculiar Malayalam innovations, palatalization and nasalization are, however, irregularly recorded *tadbhava* forms *puttiraṉ* (< *putraṉ*) , *kanṭam* < *kaṇṭham*) , native words *māntu' mango'*, *nākkila* 'tender plantain leaf' (see Appendix 1)

(2) *Brāhmaṇippāṭṭu* These songs, sung by the womenfolk of the Nampiyār caste at Bhadrakāḷi temples and also at the houses of the Namputiri brahmins and other high class people on special occasions, are very old But they cannot be construed as retaining their earlier linguistic forms as many of them are supposed to have been rewritten by later poets like Malamaṅgalam The available songs in this category contain large number of Sanskrit forms including those with Sanskrit suffixes A notable feature of these songs is that they show a stage of the evolution of Malayalam language when the shedding of archaisms is almost complete Thus, palatalization and nasalization are found to be regular The personal markers after the finite verbs are, however, optionally used (see Appendix 2)

8 4 Middle class sorgs

(1) *Pāṇappāṭṭu* *Pāṇar* were professional singers It is believed that their traditional occupation was to sing adulatory

hymns in order to wake up lords and kings in their courts and palaces Perhaps, because of this association, these songs reveal Sanskrit influence in a significant manner Consequently, Sanskrit *tatsama* words are present to a larger extent than *tadbhava* forms The language shows a high degree of sophistication (see Appendix 3)

(2) *Bhadrakālippāṭṭu* Actually, this is a group of ritualistic songs, all referring to the mythological anecdotes pertaining to Goddess Kāḷi, they are variously known as *bhadrakālippāṭṭu, kalameḻuttuppāṭṭu, tiṟayāṭṭam, maṇṇār pāṭṭu, tōṟṟam pāṭṭu pāṉappāṭṭu*, etc The language of the songs reveals an appreciable degree of refinement with archaic expressions kept at a minimum level and with Sanskrit influence discernably prominent (see Appendix 4)

(3) *Kuṟattippāṭṭu* The *kuṟavai* are a nomadic tribe supposed to have migrated from the southern parts of Tamil Nadu They are speakers of a dialect of Tamil and their subsequent contact with the regional language has produced a kind of pidgin which is heavily influenced by Tamil Besides *kuṟattippāṭṭu, kākkalippāṭṭu* and *vēṭakkaḷi* are also in this dialect (see Appendix 5)

(4) *Kāṇippāṭṭu* The *kāṇi* tribe live in the forest areas of Trivandrum district They speak a relatively distant dialect of Malayalam which has several traits of Tamil preserved in it Hence their songs also show archaic features to a certain extent Sanskrit *tatsama* loans are never used in these songs *tadbhava* words like *pakavati, cāviṇṭi* (< *cāmuṇḍi*), and *tēvata* are, however, quite common in them (see Appendix 6)

8 5 Low class songs

These songs are sung by agricultural labourers, mainly people belonging to the *pulaya* caste The purely colloqu al style is maintained in all the songs Sanskrit words are assimilated to suit the Dravidian phonological system In regard to the

other features (palatalization, nasalization, etc) the language of the songs shows a fairly developed stage Some *tadbhava* words occurring in the songs are given below *kōpuram, āṭiccaṉ* (*<ādityaṉ*) *cantiran, peramāvu* (*<brahma*), *tēyavāḷi* (*<dēśavāḷi*) (see Appendix 7)

8 6 Pure Malayalam Songs :

Ōṇappāṭṭukaḷ, Kaikoṭṭikkaḷippāṭṭu, Puḷḷuvappāṭṭu, Arayaṉ Pāṭṭu, Śāstāmpāṭṭu, Kristyāṉippāṭṭu, etc belong to this category The grouping of these songs into one class can be justified on the basis of the relatively unmixed language in which they are composed The Sanskrit influence is less conspicuous here than elsewhere Among the above, *Kristyāṉippāṭṭu* deserves special mention These songs are patronized by the lower middle and lower classes of the Christian community The themes for these songs are biblical, hence, special expressions denoting the religious beliefs of the community are found in these songs (see Appendix 8)

8 7 Vaṭakkaṉ Pāṭṭu

The term *Vaṭakkaṉ pāṭṭu* (literally, 'northern songs', also known as 'Ballads of North Malabar') refers to a group of songs (perhaps, more than a hundred) composed in a particular folk metre The language of the songs is uniformally the north Malabar dialect The songs were composed at different periods, the oldest, however, cannot be earlier to the 16th century The themes of the songs are the adventures of local warriors, mainly those of Taccōḷi Otēṉan and Ārōmal Cēkavar There are references to the gunshot (*mayile veṭi vekkāṉ vannotēṉa*) and the drinking of coffee (*kāppi kuṭiccittē pōkavēṇṭū*) Though the songs belong to at least four centuries, their styles show less variations than one would expect. The techniques of folk versification employed in these songs, perhaps, were instrumental in making the songs to conform to a singular pattern All these songs are written in the unsophisticated local dialect

of North Malabar The group of these songs is a veritable storehouse of expressions peculiar to the Northern speech Grammatical usages which are features of an older stage of the development of Malayalam language and which have become obsolete at present, are rarely met with in these ballads Hence, the processes of palatalization and nasalization are complete in this language (see Appendix 9)

8 8 Tekkaṉ Pāṭṭu :

Tekkaṉ pāṭṭu (literally, 'southern songs') comprises an assorted group of folk songs originated in the southern parts of the former Travancore state Since the area of their origin is bilingual, the songs have a heavy dose of Tamil influence Both in respect of phonological and morphological features, the songs reflect an archaic stage of the evolution of the language Non-nasalized and non-palatalized forms are regular characteristics Borrowings from Sanskrit are rare in the songs Technically, the language of these songs cannot be termed as either Tamil or Malayalam A major sub-group of *Tekkaṉ pāṭṭu* is what is called *villaticcāṉ pāṭṭu,* the songs of which deal with local heroes as well as with 'purāṇic' themes Other important songs included in this group are *ulakuṭapperumāḷ pāṭṭu, añcutampurāṉ pāṭṭu, iravikkuṭṭippiḷḷappōr pāṭṭu, pañcavaṅkāṭṭu-nīlippāṭṭu,* etc (see Appendix 10)

8 9 Conclusion

A survey of Malayalam folk songs across regional and social barriers will reveal that they basically belong to two linguistic groups They are those wherein the distinctive Malayalam innovations are absent and those which are manifested with the characteristic Malayalam features Colloquial elements are found in both Since the exact dating of these songs is not possible, the materials gathered from them should be used with extreme caution as bases for reconstructing the internal history of Malayalam language We are not suggesting that the linguistic features of folk songs are not of direct use for a

language historian. They indeed contain a wealth of fascinating unique features. But since they were not recorded for centuries, their reliability in respect of the linguistic features contained in them, is rather questionable.

Characteristic features of various songs examined above are given in a chart in Appendix II. The sign '+' indicates the presence, '–' the absence and '(+)' the occasional occurrence.

APPENDICES

1

(a) [illegible] makalallō cītappennu
avalkkallō rāmaccekkan utuppān koṭuttu
avalēllō rāvanaccan kaṭṭukūtti kontupōyi
atumūlam [illegible] lanka cuttu

(b) eḻuvaruntē bhagavatimār
eḻuvarilum aḻakiyatō
aḻakiyatō ñāṉa[illegible]ēn
paḻayaṉṉūrkkāvil bhagavatipōl

(c) unṉollā uṟannollā
uṟannyālppiṉṉunarollā
aṭikkollā taḷikkollā
atuppil tīyerikkollā

2

vēdāntavākyannalumīvannam
ennu varnnippān vasamillāta
nintiruvaṭiyuṭe rūpasoundaryatte
ennaṉe varnnippū ñān dēvimā

3

ponnınenna cūtetuttu
nırattı veccu bhagavānum
vellıyenna cūtetuttu
vettı veccu śrīpārvatıyum
kantunınna tıruvarankan
kaiyatıccu cırı tutannı

4

nāluvēdattın vıttē nātucūlelunna śaktı
akhılalōkasvarūpī akhandamām mantıratte
tōttumakkarattınālē tūyatām pattutukkum

5

enkalukku pōkavēnam pōkavēnam tāyē
kuñcınıkku kañcı kotu cōrukotennammē

* * *

kākkayār kulattıl nānkal pāntıyıl pırantu
nānkalute jenmamatu nīnkalarıvıllē

* * *

ıppatı nān co' ıı llīm ottu varāññāl
nākkaruttu pōtuvēn nān kuñcukaluttānē

6

āyırattıyettu kayyālırankıya
pattīrakālıyen pattīrakālı
nūrumolam vīrālıppattanıntōl
pattīrakālıyen pattīrakālı
pōrukalattıl purappetta tāyē
pattīrakālıyen pattīrakālı

7

(a) mārımāḻakal corıñcē—ceṟu
vayalukalokke naṉañcē
pūttıyorukkıppaṟañcē—ceṟu
nāṟukal kettı eṟıñcē

(b) vītenkıl mēyūlyō
mēyıṉatu payyalyō
payyeṅkil cuttūlyō
cuttiṉatu cakkalyō
cakkenkıl āṭūlyō
ātıṉatu pāmpalyō

8

(1) *ōṇappāttu*
eṉte valanıkayyılē māṇıkkaccempaḻukka
eṉte ıṭam kayyılē mānıkkaccempaḻukka
ōtunnunṭōtunnuntē mānıkkaccempaḻukka
tottataṟıyāte mānıkkaccempaḻukka
oruvattam cuttıvannē mānıkkaccempaḻukka

(2) *kaıkottıkkalıppāttu*
onnākum kunnınmēl ōratıkkunnınmēl
onnallō mankamār pāla naṭṭū
pālakkıla vannu pū vannu kā vannu
pālakku nīr koṭu pārvatıyē

(3) *pulluvar pāttu*
tekkuvatakku kayaṟēḻu pāvīṭṭu
mēlāppukontu vıtāṉam ceytu
ıḻuvattu rājāvu nattunaṉaccuḷḷa
centeṅnutaṉṉute kūmpu veṭṭı
cellum puḷuṅkuttum uḷḷatu nīkkīṭṭu
nallōla cīntı arannumīṭṭu

(4) *arayan pāttu*

vālum vālaram okkeyetuttu
cıttulı cīrulı okkeyetuttu
netıya mul̲akkōl ākeyetuttu
kuṟıya mul̲akkōl ākeyetuttu
cuṟutıyoṭe natakollunnarayan
neṭıyoru malayılkkēṟunnarayan

(5) *śāstām pāttu*

karattıl śaravum vıllum etuttayyan puṟappettu
karımpulıppālu kontu varuvatınnul̲ttotē

(6) *krıstyāṉıppāttu*

māttōmman nanmayāl onnu tutannunnu
nannāy varēnamēyınnu
uttamanāya mıśıhātıruvullam
unmayel̲unnalkavēnam

9

(a) nammute pantattekkārnnōmmāru
ankam pıṭıccu kal̲ıññupōnnu
munnūttaṟupattettu varıṣamāyı
annutottınnuvarēkkumunnı

(b) kākkayeppōle kaṟutta cīru
enıkkınnaccīrūne vēntentēttā
cakkacculappallum pēntalayum
enıkkınnaccīrūne vēntentēttā

10

(1) *ulakutapperumāl pāṭṭu*

ampıṉoṭu vaıkaı taṉṉıle maṉṉavaravar
avar pata vettıyoru rāccıyavumuntu

(2) *añcutampurān pāttu*
rācakōttırattıl pırannālō
apılēkamutı vaıkkavēṇam

11

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE FOLLOWING TABLE

(a) *Features*

F(1) — Palatalızatıon
F(2) — Nasalızatıon
F(3) — Presence of SKT Phonemes
F(4) — Excessıve SKT loans
F(5) — Pronomınal markers after finıte Vbs
F(6) — Tamıl ınfluence

(b) *Songs*

AP — *Arayan pāttu*
BK — *Bhadrakālıppāttu*
BP — *Brāhmanıppāttu*
KK — *Kaıkottıkkalıppāttu*
KN — *Kānıppāttu*
KP — *Kurattıppāṭṭu*
KR — *Krıstyānıppāttu*
NP — *Nāyāṭṭupāttu*
OP — *Ōnappāttu*
PL — *Pulluvan pāttu*
PP — *Pānappāttu*
PS — *Pulaya* songs
SP — *Śankaran pāttu*
ST — *Śāstām pāttu*
TP — *Tekkan pāttu*
VP — *Vatakkan pāttu*
YK — *Yātrakalı* songs

SONGS	F(1)	F(2)	F(3)	F(4)	F(5)	F(6)
AP	+	+	—	—	—	—
BK	+	+	+	—	—	—
BP	+	+	+	+	+/—	—
KK	+	+	(+)	—	—	—
KN	+	+/—	—	—	(+)/—	—
KP	+	+/—	+	+	—	+
KR	+	+/—	(+)	—	+/—	—
NP	+	+/—	—	—	—	—
OP	+	+	(+)	—	—	—
PL	+	+	+	—	+/—	—
PP	+	+	+	+	—	—
PS	+/—	+/—	—	—	+/—	—
SP	—	+	(+)	(+)	—	+
ST	+	+	(+)	—	—	—
TP	—	—	—	—	+	+
VP	+	+	(+)	—	—	—
YK	+	+/—	+	+	+/—	+/—

9

T. B. VENUGOPALA PANIKKAR

Tribal Languages and Malayalam

9 1 Introduction ·

It is only logical to argue that new information about Dravidian tribal speeches, many of which have been identified only recently, can throw fresh light into comparative studies of Dravidian languages. The incorporation of such information into comparative Dravidian might alter the different positions hitherto ascribed to better known languages like Malayalam (Ma.), Tamil (Ta), Kannada (Ka), Tulu (Tu.), Telugu (Te.), etc. and other 'earlier' tribal languages like Kota (Ko.), Toda (To.), Gondi (Go.), Kurux (Kur.), Malto, etc. Many tribal languages lie geographically and linguistically mid-way between

Ta and Ma New information about them might change the picture of the geneological relations between Ta and Ma This is the importance of the study of tribal languages in tracing the history of Ma Yet this aspect is often ignored Ma is often compared with Ta, less often with Ka or Tu The importance of the comparison with tribal speeches, (including those which are considered as 'dialects' of any other 'language' as well as those which are identified as 'independent languages') has received the attention of only a few scholars like V I Subramoniam (1977 8) who points out that the materials gathered from a systematic study of tribal speeches can solve many of the historical problems pertaining to the Dravidian studies in general and also to the unsolved or inadequately handled issues of individual languages in particular All the distinctive features found in Malayalam in contrast to its genetically closest language, Tamil, need not be construed as exclusive innovations, as a few at least are likely to be retentions or perhaps shared innovations with one or more tribal speeches Since tribal areas are what dialectologists call 'relic areas', the tribal speeches may contain archaic features which can be of immense value in studying the earlier stages of languages like Ma which had changed at a faster pace during the recent past. It is to be stressed that a comparative reconstruction wherein tribal speeches are also considered might yield a picture slightly different from what is generally accepted now

This paper, however, does not attempt at a thorough comparison of Ma with tribal speeches The purpose of this paper is only to give a few examples which would indicate that certain diachronic problems can be analysed with the help of an examination of parallel features in the tribal languages Section 2 deals with phonology and section 3 on morphology The remaining sections are on lexical and etymological problems. Most of the Kaṭan items are taken from the field notes of this author.

9 2 Phonology :

The cluster of alveolar nasal and stop occurs in present day Ma only in genitive case forms like *eṉte*, 'my' *viṭṭiṉte*, 'of house', etc In all the cases where Ta has /ṉṯ/, Ma has /nn/ How can the dental sequence /nn/ be traced to an alveolar source? It is almost certain that Proto Dravidian (PDr) had **-ṉṯ-* (Emeneau, 1966 xii & 1970 7, 72–73) Bh Krishnamurti (1972 70ff) favours this reconstruction on the basis of certain arguments which may be summarised as follows

(1) Tu often has *-ñj-* when other Dr languages have either *-nd-* or *-ṇḍ-* Since Tu retains dental and retroflex consonants, this *-ñj-* should be traced to some other source differing from **-nt-* and **-nṭ-* This favours the setting up of **-ṉṯ-* to PDr Even intervocalically Tu has *-j-* for **-ṯ-*

(2) Old Te inscriptions have *-ṉṯ-*

(3) Go shows a dialectal distribution of *-nd-* and *-ṇḍ-* in words whose Ta cognates have *-ṉṯ-* in them So this variation can only be a parallel development from a third source viz **-ṉṯ-*

These can very well be compared with the situation in Ma The presence of the dialectally distributed *-nn-* and *-ṉṉ-* in Ma corresponding to *-ṉṯ-* of Ta , suggests the reconstruction of **-ṉṯ-* to Pre-Ma

Ta *ceykiṉṯa* 'does – which'

Ma *ceyyunna/ceyyana* 'id'

Inscriptional Ma retains a separate symbol for *-ṉṯ-* as do old texts whether it was actually evaluated as alveolar sounds or not

Additional evidence which supports the reconstruction o **-ṉṯ-* to Pre-Ma is the presence of *-ṉṯ-* in many tribal speeches This is particularly important when we consider the fact that most of the Ta dialects have *-ṉṉ-* for earlier *-ṉṯ-* Wayanad tribes, Aṭiyans and Paṇiyas, (S Batteri) reportedly retain *-ṉṯ-*

(Somasekharan Nair, 1977) Orāḷikurumas and Muḍugas also retain *-ṉṯ-* (Rajendran, 1976 44–66) Kāṭans of Chalakkudy forest retain *-ṉṯ-* intact like *oṉṯu* 'one', *kuṉṯu* 'hill', *akaṉṯe* 'moved away', *tiṉṯe* 'ate', etc

There are certain changes in the phonotactics of Ta and Ma which occurred in historical times Thus enunciative vowel which used to be added only after stops came to be added after all consonants except *-ṉ* and *-m* Some tribal speeches resemble earlier stages of Ta and Ma in this respect Kāṭan, for example, allows short nasals and continuants finally even in monosyllabic short stems

Kāṭan		*Ma*
pen	'female'	*Penn* [ə]
nel	'paddy'	*nell* [ə]
nāy	'dog'	*nāy* [ə]
		nāy [a]
		nāy [i]
an	'male'	*ān* [ə]
kāl	'leg'	*kāl* [ə]

Kāṭan and some other tribal languages show the absence of some of the assimilatory changes of colloquial Ma, thereby exhibiting more affinity to literary and/or older variety of Ma than to colloquial Ma

Kaṭan
en patti 'my house' < *en* 'my' + *paṭṭi* 'house'
avāṉku 'to him' < *avān* he' + *-ku* 'to'

Maṉṉān of Idukky district is similar to Kāṭan in this respect
teṉkilakku 'south east'

Dravidian umlaut or metaphony has received much attention from a very early date K V Subbayya refers to this change in his 'Primer of Dravidian Phonology' (1909) Ma grammarians have also noted this change Even as early as 1863, George Mathan has made the following observation '*-i-* and *-u-* with

or without a preceding consonant when followed by a short syllable containing *-a-*, change to *-e-* and *-o-* generally in spoken forms' (Mathan, 1969 41) Ka., Te , Collo Ta and Coll Ma prefer mid vowels in this specified environment, whereas, literary Ma and literary Ta prefer high vowels This development is to be considered as the effect of merger in the Proto-South Dravidian (PSDr) stage as seen below **u, *o* > **o* and **i, *e* > **e* These mid vowels of PSDr resulting from the merger of earlier high vowels and mid vowels remained in the colloquials of Ta and Ma as in Ka and Te , while they changed to high vowels in literary Ma and literary Ta Thus, literary Ma has high vowels which are etymologically traceable to the mid vowels This is why *viḷakku* 'lamp' has *-i-* though it is related to *veḷ* 'to be bright' and with *veḷiccam* 'light' Likewise, *oṭi* 'to break (as a stick)' is related to *uṭay* 'to break (as a pot)' and yet the latter has a high vowel in it initially This is the general tendency which has given rise to *kula* 'murder' (< *kol* 'to kill') for *kola* The former is widely attested in early records But the form *cilavu* seems to have gained currency though *celavu* is the correct form as it is derivable from the root *cel-* 'to go'

The change of PSDr **o* to *u* and **e* to *i* in the literary dialects is looked upon by Andronov as an instance of hyper-correction He writes "It is obvious that in reality the vowel alternation went in one direction only At an early stage of Proto South Dravidian language the vowel *-a-* of the second syllable could be preceded both by high and mid vowels Under the influence of the open vowel *-a-* of the second syllable, the high vowels in roots widened till the degree of mid ones This type of development affected all descendant languages including Te , Ka and Ta In the latter it met with 'intentional' resistance on the part of the educated portion of Tamil society, who regarded such pronunciation of these vowels erroneous and substandard. The educated Tamils not only held intact the original pronunciation of root vowels *-i-* and *-u-* before *-a-*

in their social dialect, but also created hyper-correct variants of words with original *e* and *o* and retained the prejudice against the vulgar pronunciation of *e* and *o* before *a* After the invention of writing this peculiarity was inherited by literary Malayalam " (Andronov, 1977 223) Serious doubts arise against this hypothesis, when one considers evidence from tribal speeches, a few samples of which are given below

Kāṭan *ila* 'leaf', *nira* 'row', *kura* 'bark', *kula* 'murder'

Paṇiya *uṟakkam* 'sleep', *kurānku* 'monkey', *iṭattu* 'left side'

Ūraḷi *puva*, 'smoke', *cital* 'termite',

Maṇṇān *ile* 'leaf', *puke* 'smoke', *kuṭe* 'umbrella'

These facts indicate that the preference for high vowel, irrespective of the etymology, can also be of colloquial origin and need not be a literary improvisation of the elite

In Old Ma and Ta *y–* of Indo-Aryan (IA) loans is replaced by a nasal, either *ñ–* or *n–*

IA *yama* 'Death' > Ma *ñaman*, Tam *naman*

IA *yugam* 'yoke' > Ma & Ta *nukam*

In all probability this change may be an effect of the nasal *–m–* in the second syllable Kāṭan has developed this change even in reconstructable **y–* After the Old Ta stage *y–* drops in Ta , and Ma agrees with middle Ta in this respect than with Old Ta,

OTa *yāmay* 'tortoise', MTa *āmay*, Ma āma

Kaṭan *ñāma* (Western dialect)

nāma (Eastern dialect)

This change in Kāṭan helps to trace **ñām* to the first person (exclusive) plural pronoun **yām*, from which *ñāṅṅal* (**ñām+kaḷ*) can be derived *ñān*, the first person singular pronoun can be conceived as the analogical back formation from **ñām* The importance of this change from a diachronic point of view has

already been noted by S V Shanmugam (1971 163 foot note) (See 3 below for the actual attestation of *ñām*)

In the place of *-ḷ* traceable to *-ḷ*, of present day Ma, the language of Bhāṣākauṭalīyam (BK) has *-ṉ* (Ezhuttachan, 1960 41, 67, 395) Examples like *ippōṉ* 'now', (< *ippōḷ* < *i* + *pōḷ*), *appōṉ* 'then' (< *appōḷ* < *a* + *pōḷ*), *i-* and *a-* are demonstrative bases and *pōḷ* 'time' This may be compared with the Muḍuga situation where there is *-ṉ-* corresponding to *-ḷ-* of Ma

Muḍuga	Ma
kōṉ 'a stick'	*kōl*
kiṉ 'pith'	*kil*

In Ūrāḷi speech *appaṉu* corresponds to *appōḷ* 'then' of Ma

These examples show that the sound change found in BK is not unaccountably unique, though it is apparently odd

9 3 Morphology

The reconstructable *nām* of first person plural is actually found in Malavētan speech

Malto of North Dravidian retains demonstrative adjectives *a* and *i* independently as Ma These are not found commonly even in Old Ta In the phonological section of *Tolkāppiyam*, *a* alone is mentioned (Sutra 210), that too only as a poetic usage The reconstruction of these to PDr is supported by the evidence supplied by Malto

Sutra 33 and the exposition of Sutra 40 of *Līlatilakam* (LT) mention the neuter plural suffix *-v* This is also mentioned in Ta grammars In the speeches of Malavēṭans and Kāṭans this suffix when used after demonstrative bases refers to third person human plural pronouns Eg *avu* 'they' It is productive in the plural formation of neuter nouns in the former speech

kayyu v 'hands'
mara-v 'trees'

A number of tribal speeches have *-a* as genitive suffix

Muduva — *avan-a* 'his'

Kāṭṭunāyaka — *mane-n-a* 'of house'

Paṇiya — *nin-a* 'your'

This suffix is common in north Kerala dialects of Ma

ōla vītu 'her house'

Old Ta literature and Brahmi Ta inscriptions have *-a* as genitive suffix

ninn-a kaṇṇi 'your garland'

kuvirantai vēla tāna 'the gift of '

Since reflexes of **-a* is found in languages belonging to all branches of Dravidian family, Shanmugam reconstructs it to PDr (1971 384) The retention in Ma tribal speeches may be shared retentions

In inscriptional Ma after *-n, -ku* was the dative case suffix eg *vēṇaṭṭinku* 'to vēṇaṭ' This stage of development is often considered as 'an unstable middle stage' (Chandrasekhar, 1953 77) *-nk-* form of a dative case is found in inscriptional Ta. of the second century A D also (Shanmugam, 1971 266) Kāṭan still retains this form *avinku* 'to them'. *cappinku* 'to the forest'

Second person oblique stem, in Ma. is *niṅṅaḷ*. This is traceable to *nim*-and-*kaḷ* *nim-* as such is found in Old Ma works like *Rāmacaritam* This *nim* is retained by Kota **nim-* changes to *-um* in Ta through an intermediate stage **num* This intermediate stage is found in Kāṭan

numākku 'to you'

nūm num paṭṭinku pōn 'you go to your house'

Another feature which Kota shares with Ma is the negative allomorph *-āy* This allomorph allows tense suffix after it, unlike negative formation in other Dravidian languages

Kota- *var+ay+kv+e(n)*
'come-not-will-I' ie 'I will not come'
(Subramonyam, 1971 343)
Ma - *ceyy + āy + vān* do-not-for' ie 'for not doing'
ceyy+a(v)+ññu 'do-not-past' ie 'did not do'

9 4 Some Etymologies

The ''mol of the term *malayālam* which originally meant the land of Kerala and later applied to the language, *malayālabhāṣa* itself, can be solved with the help of a new look into the names for the tribes who speak Dravidian tribal languages Many of them are related with the words for 'hill' and 'mountain', *kuṟan* and *mala(y)* *kurux, kuṟava, koṟaga, kuṟicciya, kuṟumpa,* etc and *malayar, malasar,* etc The Malto speakers of Rajamahal Hills of Bihar are *maler* 'hill men' This points to the fact that *malayālar* (or *malayāḷi-ar*) might have been the name of the people meaning 'men of hills' The land they occupied might have got the name *malayālam* only later So the part *-alam* of this term might be segmented as *āḷ-am* where *āl* is 'man' and *-am* is a formative suffix

Many tribes using one Dr tongue or other denote their own tribe by the word for 'man' Thus for Kāṭans *āl* 'man' also means their own tribe's man Same is the case with Toda *ōḷ* (< **āḷ*) Parji speakers call themselves *parji* < I A *praja* 'people' For Malto speakers the word for their tribe is *maler* 'hill man' It also has the meaning 'human beings' For Kāṭans their language is 'human tongue', *āl alāppu* These may be compared to particular meanings which *bhāsa* 'language' and *nāṭu* 'country' acquire in Ma The former often means 'Malayalam language' and the latter 'one's own village' or broadly, '*malayālam* speaking country' The specialised meaning for *bhāṣa* is found at least from the fourteenth century onwards LT makes use of it in this sense

A few more words are discussed below

(1) Kāṭan-*akāy* 'to dig' Though *akaḻ* is no longer used in Ma. it is found in BK (Ezhuttachan, 1960 15)

(2) Kāṭan- *accan* 'elder brother'

Mala Uḷḷātan—*accan* 'mother's brother'

This word conveys the meaning 'mother s brother' to a Christian from central Kerala *accāyan* is an 'elder brother' for Christians in some places and 'father' for others Hindus generally have *accan* for 'father

(3) Kāṭan – *aṭāvi* 'thick forest' *aṭavi* found in Sanskrit also is taken to be a Dravidian loan (Caldwell, 1961 563)

(4) Kāṭan – *aṭṭal* 'urine' The word is found in BK as *aṭṭuka* 'to urinate' (Ezhuttachan, 1960 86 See also DED 87) Tu and Ko have this word In Old Ma it means 'to pour' *nīr aṭṭi koṭuttān* '(he) donated having poured water'

(5) Kāṭan – *cāṉṟi* 'a respectable old man' (< *cāl* 'excess' vide Kṛṣṇagātha *cāle*) Ka has *sāku* 'enough' (< *cāl-ku*) *cāntār cāṉṟōr* of Ta means 'noblemen' (DED 2037)

(6) Kāṭan – *māntiru iḷa* 'wake up' This may be analysed as *māl* + *nt* + *iru iḷa* The first part is a verbal participle meaning 'having slept' *iru* is used as expletive auxiliary *iḷa* is an imperative form meaning 'get up' or 'be calm (?)' The root *māl* 'to sleep' may be compared with Ka, Tu *malagu* 'to sleep', (DED 4167)

(7) *māḷi* in place names of Kerala like *aṭimāḷi, aṅkamāḷi, māḷyaykara, māḷippuṟam,* etc can be compared with *māḷi* 'river water' of Kāṭan

(8) The Ma word for 'valley' is a compound *tāḻvara* The former element is a verbal root meaning 'to descend' or 'to be low' So the latter has to mean 'a hill' which is found in the synonym for Pārvati, the daughter of mountain, viz *vara-mātu* 'hill-woman' The word *vara* is actually used in Kāṭan to mean 'a rocky hill'

10

C. J. ROY

Malayalam Dialects

10.1. Introduction :

A language is the totality of the speech habits of its users. The speech habits of each individual is both unique (idiolectal) and shared with other speakers of the same language. Inevitably, no language is as monolithic as our grammarians often suggest It has different forms, the differences appearing on all levels – phonological, grammatical and lexical. The term dialect represents any speech variant, spoken or written, old or new, standard or substandard, social or geographical, prestigious or downtrodden (Bhatt, 1973).

Along with understanding dialect as any speech variant, there are two important points to be taken note of regarding

the nature of dialects which has a direct bearing on everything said about the dialects of Malayalam in this paper Firstly, everybody speaks a dialect – or rather, many dialects, shifting back and forth from one to another without even being consciously aware of doing so (Heatherington, 1980) Secondly, from a linguistic point of view, no dialect is better or worse than the other, all dialects are linguistically equal, serving perfectly well as expressive and communicative devices of their users Judgements like good and bad, correct and incorrect, attached to dialects are not linguistic evaluations, but are social Language being a cultural phenomenon, social judgements cannot be completely dispensed with But one has to be sure that linguistic judgements are different from social judgements As a rule, it is the socially most prestigious variant which is named as the standard dialect, the other variants may be collectively called as non-standard The attributives standard and non-standard, however, do not necessarily mean 'correct' and 'incorrect' The non-standard dialects, though socially deficient, are linguistically just different

10.2 Standard Dialect

In Malayalam what may be named as the standard dialect is the variant used by the educated class and consequently considered as the most prestigious It manifests a speech pattern more or less unitary, adhering to established norms in different levels of the language and admitting relatively little deviations The variant is largely confined to formal situations, in public speech and writing Along with this formal variant, the educated speakers have informal variants identifiable to the point of diglossia While the former varies only slightly with factors like social class and place of origin, differences correlated with such factors come to the fore in the latter resulting in considerable internal diversity It may also be noted that the standard dialect of Malayalam has been changing as any other dialect, there arising new standards from time to time, as discernible from our grammatical treatises of different periods

as well as the recorded samples of language available to us Evidently, what was considered as standard at certain points of time ceased to be so in subsequent periods and came to be considered as non-standard The general tendency was to treat the prestigious variety as the only acceptable variant and all deviations from the same were looked down as corruptions crept into the language proper from speakers of a lower order The 14th century grammar *Līlātilakam* for instance, while discussing the vocabulary content of *maṇipravāḷam* refers to the language containing forms like *vantān, iruntān, tēnka* and *mānka* as the language of the *hīnajātyah* 'low born' Those named as low born included the majority of the common folk of the then Kerala, whose language was more reflective of the characteristics of Malayalam of the day, with personal markers in finite verbs and without nasal assimilation of nasal - stop clusters, quite similar to Tamil (Gopinatha Pillai, 1973) The same treatise also indicates that there have been exceptions to the existence of a single standard, as in *pāṭṭu* and *maṇipravāḷam* but they are largely confined to literary genres

Most of the publications on Malayalam language deal with the standard dialect of Malayalam manifested in the recorded language, especially in literature Scholars have partially succeeded in gleaning out the characteristics of standard dialect in selected works like *Rāmacaritam* (George, 1956) *Brahmānda-purāṇam* (Velayudhan Pillai, 1973) *Kaṇṇaśśarāmāyaṇam* (Ramachandran Pillai, 1973) and *Kṛsnagātha* (Prabodhachandran, 1965) A few attempts on spoken standard Malayalam have appeared recently enabling an understanding of some of the flaws of arriving at conclusions on language on the basis of the written form and some of the major divergences between the written and spoken media, as for instance the under differentiations and over differentiations of the phonemic system in written forms (Prabodhachandran, 1980)

10 3 Non Standard Dialect

During the past two decades the non-standard dialects of Malayalam have attracted the serious attention of a few scholars and efforts to go deep into their intricacies are in progress Among the attempts made in this line, particular mention has to be made on the small scale Dialect Survey (Subramoniam, 1974) creditable for its neat execution and convincing conclusions Systematic descriptions of some of the caste and regional dialects (Panikkar, 1967, Roy, 1979, Somasekharan Nair, 1979) also deserve mention Though commendable in many respects, it should be admitted that these works are defective in that they fail to give clear geographical and social identifications of the data made use of The number of dialects of different varieties remaining untouched are many To sum up, the work done on Malayalam dialects till date has barely scratched the surface of this vast subject

On the basis of the little work so far carried out on Malayalam and taking into account similar and more extensive work carried out elsewhere the non-standard dialects of Malayalam can, for the purpose of simplification, be grouped under four heads historical, regional, social and biological

10 4 Dialects Through History

Using the word historical to name a dialect type is slightly misleading as dialects are ordinarily found to function over space (synchronically) and not time (diachronically) The word is deliberately used to indicate that Malayalam had a historical beginning as a dialect of Tamil, as in the origin of American English from a dialect of British English (Heatherington 1980) Of course, the theory of origin of Malayalam from a dialect of Tamil has not found favour with all scholars, and even strongly opposed by some with a counter theory (George, 1956). The two language characteristics pointed out in proof of the antiquity of Malayalam by the latter, viz the word final /a/ in the place of /ai/ and finite verbs without gender and number endings,

have been proved by comparativists as later developments (Shanmugam, 1976) Regarding the first, the corresponding form for *mala* (Malayalam) and *malai* (Tamil), in Kannada and Tulu is *male* (DED No 3882) If /a/ is the earlier form there is no reason why it should change to /ai/ in Tamil and /e/ in Kannada and Tulu Substitution of /n/ by /l/ when followed by constituents with initial /p, k, c, t/ as in *pin+ kālam* > *pilkālam*, development of morphological features like evolution of accustaive case marker /e/ from a west coast variant of /ai/ through an intermediary form /a/, elision of personal terminations from verbs, and development of future tense marker /um/ are discernible in the inscriptions of the 10th century and literary works of the subsequent centuries (Ramaswamy Iyer, 1936) Many of the lexical items of the period 9th to 14th century A D which is generally considered as the crucial period in the development of Malayalam language, and the period immediately followed are different from contemporary language Cg *pakayar* 'enemy', *minṭuka* 'return', *karumam* 'fate', *cinam* 'anger', *taḷa* 'control', *orikkam* 'affection', *cirma* 'strength', *māṭu* 'hill', *mukaṟu* 'face', *viṭakku* 'bad' *maṭiññu* 'filled' (*Rāmacaritam*) *neṟi*, 'justice', *nēśam* 'love' *yān* 'I', *tuyar* 'sorrow', *ori* 'draught', *mayal* 'affection', *ciṟanta* 'great' *vilam* 'strength', *kumuṇṭe* 'together' *caḷankal* 'blemish' (*Ramakathappāṭṭu*) *aḷivu* 'defect', *iyyattuka* 'carry out', *varalāṟu* 'history', paṭṭa 'complete', *palavu* 'many' *mumpaṭi* 'first' (*Kaṇṇaśśarāmāyaṇam*), *niṭṭu* 'length' *paṭṭāññu* 'truth' *ōrca* 'memory', *peṇṇuka* 'do', *mukakkuka* 'smell', and *pāḷma* 'naughtiness' (*Kṛsnagātha*), to list a few The phonological patterns gleaned from the recorded language differ considerably, as discernible from the analyses available, though the pronunciation indicated therein may not be objective

More than a thousand years separate the speakers of present day Malayalam from the early speakers of this language so that there is often considerable difficulty in understanding the early variant The successive stages of variations have

prompted our historians to classify Malayalam into Early, Middle and Modern with subclasses like Early Old, Early Maṇipravāḷa, Campu period, Transitional period and Late New Malayalam (Parameswara Ayyar, 1953, George, 1958) These classifications give a general idea of the dialects of Malayalam in a historical perspective, the variation in the making of time boundaries is due to the inherent looseness of biological chronology adopted as basis for periodization It may be noted in this connection that the isoglosses of sound change and vocabulary will not always bundle up to mark a particular time to be indicated as a period in the history of a language The isoglosses trail before and after the said periods, in some cases reappearing after centuries, as illustrated by the inconsistancies of nasal assimilation in Malayalam (Subramoniam, 1972).

10 5 Regional Dialects

In the study of the synchronic dialects of Malayalam it is the geographical dimension which has attracted maximum attention of our linguists Striking differences of dialect are heard as we travel from one part of Kerala to the other The earliest of the two regional dialects distinguished are the Southern and the Northern, but the divisions are rather relative What is named as Southern by some becoming Northern to others is not unusual (Goda varma, 1951) Division of the Dialects of Malayalam into Southern, Central and Northern by later scholars, on the basis of the territories of the former principalities of Travancore and Cochin and the territory north to Calicut, is the first progressive step in this area of investigation A pilot survey of the Malayalam spoken by the *pulaya* caste located six dialects (Subramoniam, 1962) The Small Scale Dialect Survey Project of the University of Kerala identified twelve dialects, viz (1) South Travancore, (2) Central Travancore, (3) West Vempanad, (4) North Travancore, (5) Cochin, (6) South Malabar, (7) South Eastern Palghat, (8) North Western Palghat, (9) Central Malabar, (10) Waynad, (11) North Malabar and (12) the Peak or Kasargod, with two or more

subdialects under most of them, details of which are available in the form of a report (Subramoniam, 1974), charts and dialect atlases The disagreement indicates that there has been a certain amount of blending in these dialects due to increased mobility, radio and other mass media Still they are evident and easy to recognize, so evident that most people continue to react negatively to dialects which are not their own Lexical regionalism is often a tool for scorn For example, *cātuka* generally means 'to jump' In North Malabar it means 'to throw' *pākku* has at least four meanings 'arecanut', 'ceiling', 'bag' and 'planks laid above a pit', *oram* can be 'shoulder', 'strength', 'roughness', 'arrogance' or 'manure' *tōḷə* means 'shoulder' and 'arm pit', *kollan* may refer to either 'blacksmith' or 'cobbler' The variants for some of the quite common agricultural products provide interesting study

(1) Tapioca — *kappa, pūḷa kolli, marakkeḷannə, maraccīṉi, cīṉi, koḷḷikkeḷannə, kappappūḷa, kappacciṉi, mattōkkə*

(2) Pine apple — *kaytaccakka, aṅṅārcakka, puṟutticcakka, muṉtaccakka, kaṭaccakka, kaṉṉārcakka, kaḷutaccakka, kappaccakka*

(3) Papaya — *ōmaykka, kappaḷanna, karmūsa, kappayakka, kappaṅṅa, kaṟuvattuṅkāya,* [illegible] *, pappalanna, bappaṅkāyi, kaṟmatti, kaṟmacci, maramattaṅṅa, marakkumpalaṅṅa*

(4) Cashew tree — *kaśumāvə, paṟankimāvə, kappalmāvə, piṟuttimāvə, anṭimāvə*

Apart from the semantic and lexical differences, the regional dialects of Malayalam show conspicuous variations at the phonological and morphological levels The major among them are given below

(a) PHONEMIC REPLACEMENTS

i/e	*ila—ela* 'leaf', *kiṭakka—keṭakka* 'bed'.
a/i	*nāṇayam—nāṇiyam* 'coin', *kattira—kattiri* 'scissors'
a/e	*ñarampə—ñerampə* 'vein', *innala—innale* 'yesterday'
u/i	*uṇṭə—iṇṭə* 'have', *koccuṇṇaḷ—koccinnaḷ* 'children'.
u/o	*uṇṭə—oṇṭə* 'have', *pura—pora* 'house'
kk/ykk	*keṭakka—keṭykka* 'bed', *umikkari—umiykkari* 'charred paddy husk'
k/v	*ceṟakə—ceṟavə* 'wing', *cattukam—cattuvam* 'spatula'
l/ḷ	*plāvə—plāvə* 'jack tree'
r/ṟ	*ciri—ciṟi* 'laughter', *turuppə-tuṟuppə* 'trump'
v/b	*vellam—bellam* 'water', *rāvile—rābile* 'in the morning'
ḻ/v	*kaḻuttə—kavuttə* 'neck', *koḻu—kovu* 'blade of plough'.
m/v	*amara—avara* 'beans', *ammāman—ammāvan* 'uncle'.
y/v	*ammāyi—ammāvi* 'mother-in-law', *marayikkuka—maravikkuka* 'to harden'.
ṭṭ/ṭ	*cēṭṭatti—cēṭatti* 'elder brother's wife', *maṭṭaḷə—maṭaḷə* 'leaf stalk of coconut'
k/y	*pīṭika—pīṭiya* 'shop', *koṭṭaka—koṭṭaya* 'tent'
ḻ/y	*kaḻuta—kayuta* 'donkey', *eppaḻum-eppayum* 'always'

ṇ/n *kaṇalə—kaṉalə* 'live coal' ,*kūṇə-kūṉə* 'mushroom'.

kk/k *vettukkılı—vettukılı* 'locust', *manikkantam—manıkantam* 'wrist'

(b) PHONETIC REPLACEMENTS

/a/-/ə/-/ʌ/-/ɔ/ *maram / marəm / marʌm / marɔm*
/ı/-//ɯ-/ə/ *kayyı / kayyɯ / kayyə*
U/ɯ *onnU / onnɯ*

(c) MORPHEMIC REPLACEMENTS

nnu/nu *varunnu—varuṇu* 'comes'
uka/uva *tıṉṉuka—tıṉṉuva* 'to eat'
ān/āṟ *varāṉāyı—varāṟāyı* 'about to come'
ıttu/ıṟṟ *vannıttə—vannıṟṟə* 'having come'
attı/ı *panıkkārattı—panıkkārı* 'servant woman'
kal/al *kuttıkal—kuttıyal* 'children'
ıṉa/ıṉe/e *kuttīṉa—kuttīṉe—kuttıye* 'child (ac)'
ṉta/ṉte/re/te . *kuttīṉta—kuttīṉte—kuttīre—kuttīte* 'of child'.

(d) VARIANTS OF PERSONAL PRONOUNS

en/ın *eṉte—ıṉte* 'my', *ñāl—ñāṅṅal—ımpal* 'we' (exclusive), *nıy-nī-ıyy* 'you', *avan—ōn* 'he', *aval—ōḷ* 'she', *avar ōr-ōl* 'they'

(e) VARIANTS OF PARTICLES

avaṉekkāttīm—avaṉekkālum—avaṉēlum 'than him', *pattu vītam—pattīśa* 'ten each', *patukkaṉe—patukke* 'slowly'.

Outside the home region one may get teased for his 'wrong usage' and may even get into difficulties if his regionalism happens to be a taboo For those who shift their

residence often for occupational or other purposes the speech may be less marked by regionalisms than other dialectal signs, caste, age and sex

10 6 Social Dialects

Social dialects are variants correlated with the socially established identity of the speakers Society can be operationally defined as a group which selects and uses the type features of idiolects Thus a social dialect can also be defined as the idolect of a society (Subramoniam, 1976) If societies differ, dialects also will differ The contexts of social differences with which language variations can be correlated are many, but their validity need not be the same There are three distinct social groups or communities in Kerala, the Hindus, Christians and Muslims, identifiable by their ritualistic and domestic styles While the Christians and Muslims are more or less homogenous communities, the subdivisions in both being confined to minor differences in faith, the Hindu Community comprises of several castes with varying degrees of prestige attached to each, consequently, unlike Christians and Muslims, the, Hindus have many dialects Among these the clearly identifiable are those of the Brahmins, Nairs, Tiyyas/Ezhavas and Harijans

The Christian dialect varies from the standard dialect in lexical items referring to mainly kinship terms like *appan/appaccan* 'father', *amma/ammacci*, 'mother', *appāppan/uppappan* 'father's younger brother', *accāyan* 'elder brother' and *ammāmma* 'elder sister' and ritualistic terms like *kurbāṉa* 'holy communion' and *māmōdīsa* 'baptism' Absence of honorific plural imperative marker is a conspicous grammatical peculiarity of the Christian dialect Aspirated stops becoming unaspirated may be pointed out as major deviation from the phonemic pattern of the standard dialect, as in *bhāram* > *bāram* and *dhayryam* > *dayryam*, but this feature is shared by most other community dialects as well

The Muslim dialect is the most divergent with an intonation pattern of its own Lexical items related to kinship terms are peculiar as in *umma* 'mother', *vāppa* 'father', *ikka* 'elder brother', etc There are also a number of lexical items peculiar to Muslims outside the sphere of kinship, like *ibilis* devil' *sakkāttu* 'gift', *haṟām* undesirable' and *nikkāhu* 'marriage' The Muslims have an additional 'phoneme/L/, an interdental lateral continuant with heavy voicing*, *aLLah* 'god' in contrast with /l/ and /ḷ/ of *alla* 'not' and *val'lam* 'boat' (Subrmoniam, 1977) The phoneme /ḻ/ of the standard dialect is manifested as /y/, as in *kōḻi* > *kōyi* and a regular variation is found between /v/ and /b/ as in *vaḻi* > *vayi/bayi* Free variations between y/j and v/g are also found in some instances as in [illegible] *kaijə* 'hand' and *pūvə/puggə* 'flower' (Panikkar, 1967) An interesting grammatical peculiarity noticed in this dialect is worth mentioning viz the presence of first person plural form *nam* in *nammaḷ*, parallel to the second person plural *nim* available in other dialects

Among the Hindu caste dialects, the Brahmin dialect is closer to standard dialect in phonemic structure, grammatical features and lexicon though in the last one there are few items in the kinship category peculiar to the caste like *apphan* 'father's younger brother', *vēli* 'wife' and *uṇṇi* 'male child' The non-brahmin dialects show deviations according to the position each caste maintains in the social ladder The Nair dialect is nearer to the Brahmin dialect, while the Ezhava/ Tiyya Dialect is nearer to the Harijan dialect The Harijan dialect is maximally away from the standard dialect showing traces of the early historical dialect like pronominal terminations as in *aṭiyan pōṉ-ēn* 'I, the humble, go' (Gopinathan Nair, 1967) An intensive study of the dialects of Malayalam spoken by Nairs, Ezhavas and Muslims in a village near Trivandrum City (Subramoniam, 1977) has revealed that the Nair and Ezhava dialects are nearer to each other than the Muslim dialect The Muslim dialect is nearer to Ezhava dialect than the Nair

dialect The inferences drawn from this are (1) the Ezhavas are moving up towards the Nair speech and (2) the conversion to Islam was mainly from Ezhavas

Communal and caste differences in Malayalam vocabulary may be classified into two types In the first type one has a loan-word while the other has a native word Muslim *masjid*, Hindu *kṣetram*, Christian *paḷḷi* 'place for worship' In the second type both have native terms with change in shapes *maḻa* > *maya*, *mala* 'rain', *puḻu* > *puyu*, *pusu* 'worm'

Phonological comparisons of caste dialects show that the castes belonging to the upper strata frequently preserve the non-native phonology while those of the lower strata assimilate them to the native pattern as in *mukham* > *mukam* 'face' Morphological differences mostly involve varying shapes of morphemes as in *niṅṅal*, *iṅṅal* 'you' (pl), *ñaṅṅal*, *ñālu* 'we' (excl) *kuṭṭiyuṭe*, *kuṭṭinṟe*, *kuṭṭiṟe* 'of child' Differences of this sort cannot be explained by regular phonemic correspondences (Bright, 1976) The upper and lower castes make innovations in their speech independant of each other In the former the innovations are conscious and without seriously affecting the established norms whereas in the latter it is rather unconscious, the underlying motif for innovations being ease in communication

There have recently been a few attempts to minimise the significance attached to caste dialects assuming the caste difference in dialects as a marginally determinent variable only at the rural subcaste level (Pattanayak, 1974) More detailed studies would, however, lead us to the conclusion that in the Indian situation, caste status is the dominant variable in speech (Bean, 1974) The traditional social groups in the Indian society are clearly visible in castes Theoritically, equal educational opportunities should eliminate caste differentiation, but it is found that although the educated generally tend to gloss over their caste origin in professional life, their intimate relationships

are with people of like-caste birth (Harold, 1964) This means that they have a way of passing in public but not in private, the former being a question of code switching Forms elicited from informants elsewhere have attested this (Roy, 1976) and its applicability to Malayalam is unquestionable

10 7 Biological Dialects

Biological dialects are variants resulting from circumstances primarily biological rather than linguistic The token features of a language in an individual may be due to physiological reasons, food habits, climatic conditions, etc By the society accepting the individual features, they will become type features i e part of the dialect (Subramoniam, 1977) The features which thus become part of group membership are mainly two types, viz those related with age and sex

Speakers of Malayalam can be classified under four main age groups very young (upto 15 years), young (between 15 and 30 years), middle aged (30 to 60 years) and old (above 60 years) Each of these groups shows special speech pattern with considerable differences in phonological grammatical and lexical levels The most characteristic feature of the very young is under differentiation They often use same sounds, grammatical units and lexicon in different contexts voiceless for voiced, unaspirated for aspirated, present tense for past tense Non-adherence to standard norms in construction of sentences also is natural in the speech of the very young The speech of the old provides striking contrast to that of the very young, with developed phonological and grammatical patterns, maximally near to the standard speech depending on the educational levels A tendency for slow and short utterances also is not unusual in the speech of the old The youth dialect is marked by its lexical receptivity, indigenous and foreign, and is the liveliest of the four groups The middle aged shows more predilection for occupational jargon and are more conscious about the social values inherent in different dialects.

Women speakers of Malayalam are relatively less exposed to the world outside their household and consequently their speech habits remain rather undisturbed unlike those of men A reverse situation is available in certain communities like that of the fishermen in which the men are relatively less exposed Physiological and pychological aspects also are conducive to divergence in the speech of men and women. Taboo and swear words are preposterous in both sexes but the degree of preposterousness is more in women than in men

A few features common to women's speech but rare to men's may be indicated here In informal situations the purpose of women's speech is, as a rule, contact rather than communication whereas in men it is the reverse. Women use more intensifiers in their speech; *ottiri, niṟaye* and so on The proportion of euphemisms and nice words, is relatively high in the speech of women The inborn capability for subtle distinctions attested by researchers (Martin, 1981) also gets reflected in their speech

10.8 Conclusion ·

The four kinds of dialects discussed above cannot be considered as independent of each other, but crisscross and overlap Any idiolect of Malayalam may be described in terms of participation in all the four varieties viz , historical, regional, social and biological Variants may also be explained in terms of parameters like ethnic background, education and occupations

These statements are general and tentative in nature. More intensive investigations are necessary for a precise assessment of the dialects of Malayalam

11

K. KUNJUNNI RAJA

Language Stratification and Social Hierarchy

11.1 Introduction

In the present paper, I propose to discuss one aspect of the intimate interconnection between language behaviour and the social background that existed in Malayalam till recently, namely, the reflections of the class distinctions of society in its linguistic behaviour With the development of democratic ideals of a classless society, many of the old linguistic peculiarities based on social hierarchy are fast disappearing and have become a phenomenon of yesterday or have assumed new disguise as polite speech habits

11 2 Status Indicators

In Malayalam, the intricacy of familiar, polite, and honorific forms in social etiquette had developed to a bewildering degree Till recently a fine distinction in the linguistic behaviour between the master and the servant was scrupulously observed by the people The aristocratic Nampūtiri Brahmins and the princely Rajas of the land belonged to the highest rungs in the social hierarchy, and the ordinary people like those of the Nair community and the lower class people had to use honorific and polite terms while speaking to them The strict etiquette regarding the language to be employed was known as *ācāram paṟayuka* and the special language was termed *ācārabhāsa* There are two distinct sets of terms, one to be used while referring to the servants' own affairs and another for referring to the master and his possessions The terms 'servant' and 'master' here refer only to the social position and the castes to which the people belonged and not to their economic position This linguistic etiquette has almost disappeared now, and is reflected only in some of the social novels and dramas like *Indulēkha* by Chandu Menon, *Kēralēśvaran* by T Raman Nambisan and *Aṭukkaḷayilninnə Araṅṅattēkkə* by V T Bhattatirippad The vestiges of that system are too many to be wiped off at one stroke and since some of us were brought up under such a system of etiquette, it is not impossible to give a fairly correct description of this elaborate and complicated linguistic convention

While talking to the higher caste people the lower caste person was expected to refer to himself or herself by the term *aṭiyan* 'servant' The phrase *viṭa koḷḷuka* 'to get your permission' was used by the servant class very often and meant different things in different contexts *aṭiyan viṭa koḷḷām* can mean 'I shall say', 'I shall go' or 'I shall come' depending on the context *ṟān/eṟān* 'king' was the term to be used for responding to a call from the superiors.

In the *ācārabhāsa* many of the common objects have different terms, one set to be used to refer to those belonging to the lower class people and the other set to refer to those of the superior *tiru, tr* and *palli* are prefixed to make honorific declarations *trkkāl* / *trppādam* / *tiruvati* 'feet', *tirumēṉi* 'body', *tiruvati* and *tirumeṉi* are also used to refer to persons of the higher caste, *tirumeṉi* is often used also as a form of address, just like *tirumaṉassu* 'mind' (in the sense of the person), *pallimetta* 'bed', *pallikkuṟuppu* 'sleep' The terms *ati* and *paḻam* are prefixed to words for showing humility *atikkitāvu* 'child' (son or daughter), *paḻamtanta* 'father', *paḻamtalla* 'mother'

The inferior class person has to refer to his house as *kuppamātam* or *kuppātu* 'the hut in the gutter There are different terms for the houses of different communities *maṉa* / *illam* for Nampūtiris, *matham* for Tamil Brahmins, Cakyars and Nampiṭis, *kōvilakam*/*kottāram* for princes, *vāriyam* for Vāriyars, *pisāram* for Piṣāroṭis, [illegible] for Nampiyar, *viṭu* for Nairs, *kutil* / *cāla* for Pulayas

Terms referring to the wife or womenfolk are also different *akattuḷḷālu, āttēmmāru, antarjaṉam* and *veli* for Nampūtiri women, *pattaṉāṭi* (< *patni*+*aṭi* in the case of *aṭitiri* and *cōmātiri* who have performed sacrifice),] *amyār* for Tamil Brahmins, *nētyāramma* (< *nāyar*+*tti*+*ār*), *nēśyār* or *kettilamma* for the wife of princes, *bhārya* or *kettiyōl* for Nairs, *āśāricci, tiyyatti, paṟacci, ceṟumi, kuṟatti, pātti* (for Pāṇan), *vārasyār, mārārsyār, potuvalsyār,* etc referring to the castes, *illottamma* for Cākyār, *brāhmaṇiamma* for Nampiśan, *umma* for Muslims (*māplacci* is less polite) The husband normally calls his wife by her name, except in the case of the consorts of princes The female of *tampurān* can be *tampurātti* or *tampurān* itself as in the case of *ammattampurān, subhadra tampurān,* etc The husband is not addressed by name by the wife, but in a circumlocutious way Now among Nair women the tendency is to call the husband as *cēttan* 'brother', the brother being referred to as *ōppa* or

ōppan The sister calls her brother's wife as *cēttatti* (*-amma*), and her own sister as *cecci*

11 3 Addressing

In Malayalam there are more than half a dozen terms for addressing a person *nī*/*niyyə*, *tān*, *ninnaḷ*, *annə*, *ivituṇṇə*, *tirumēṉi*, *tirumaṉassə* (*-kontə*), etc in the increasing order of importance The Tamil Brahmin is referred to as *ayyar* or *svāmi*, while *pattar* is considered derogatory *paṭṭatti* refers to the female of Eḻuttaccan (*katuppaṭṭan* is derogatory), while *amyār* is used to the female of the Tamil Brahmin Princes refer to *ayyar* as *ayyan* (without using the honorific plural) In the book on the life of Mahākavi Uḷḷūr Paramēśvara Ayyar by Vaṭakkunkūr Rājarāja Varma (entitled *Mahākavi Ullūr*), the poet is throughout referred to as *Parameśvara ayyan* and never as *ayyar* This is not intended to be derogatory, but the author who is a Rāja is using his prerogatory in the social hierarchy When an advocate was introduced to a Nampūtiri as 'barister', promptly came the remark, "*băristan* is enough for me, no honorific plural"

11 4 Food, Bath, Death, Etc

According to the *ăcărabhāsa*, the servant refers to the master's food as *amaṟēttu* 'nectar', and to his own as *karikkāti* 'dirty rice-water' or *paḻamkaññi* 'old rice gruel' Such a distinction is applied to new objects also as *kāppiamaṟettu* and *kāppikarikkāṭi* The servant's paddy is *nelppatir* 'chalf' and his rice *kallari* 'rice full of stones' The master's salt is *patannappuḷi* whereas the servants *manalākāram* 'sand-food' The master's son and daughter are *uṇṇi* and *ōmaṉa* (or *penkitāvu*), while the servant's *cekkan* and *peṇṇu* The master's bath is *nīrāṭṭukuḷi*, while the servant's *naṉayuka* For deities it is *āṟāṭṭə* The master's death is *tīppetuka*, *nāṭuniṅṅuka* and *muṭiññaruḷuka* while the servant's *kuṭṭampiḷakkuka* The master's movement is *eḻunnaḷḷuka* while the servant's *viṭakoḷḷuka* The honorific term for wedding is *tirttālıccārttu* and *vēḷi*, while the humble

terms are *putamuṟi, tuni koṭukkuka* and *anti uṟannuka* A detailed list of the terms of *ācārabhāṣā* in Malayalam, with quotations from literature, is given elsewhere (Kunjunni Raja, 1962)

11 5 Caste and Language

For long, Indian society has been stratified into different castes, and linguists found it easier to analyse and study caste dialects rather than the social class dialects Recently D P Pattanayak's (1975) paper on 'Caste and Language' has rightly pointed out that the phenomenon of caste cannot be taken as the sole variable characterizing dialects in India From the controversy that followed the paper, it has been made clear that when scholars speak of caste dialects in India, it is assumed that the term 'caste' is not used in the exclusive sense of the well-defined caste of the social system, but to the caste cluster or community, and that even within the same community or caste-cluster regional variations do exist It is also noted that modern education, frequent travel, the radio and the press do affect the purity of dialects, communal or regional, and in most cases there is the phenomenon of 'code switching' in situations of diglossia Persons desirous of moving up the social scale learn what words to use and what words to avoid, for acceptance in the higher circle

11 6 Sanskrit — Status and Convention

In the linguistic hierarchy which existed in Kerala for long, Sanskrit held the highest rank People of the higher castes like the Nampūtiris, princes, Vāriyars and Piṣaroṭies who were good scholars in Sanskrit used Sanskrit loan words unconsciously in their everyday Malayalam speech, others who were not so well read in that language tried to use Sanskrit words consciously for acceptance in the higher circle Poets in Malayalam often felt it necessary to defend their use of the mother tongue *bhāṣāmiśramitenṟikaḷātē* ('don't despise it on the ground that it is mixed with the mother tongue'), says Kaṇṇaśśa Paṇikkar

Even the great popular poet Kuñcan Nampyār found it expedient to state that he was equally proficient in Sanskrit and Malayalam, and that he was using the simple Malayalam language to make his poems easily accessible to the common man for whom they were intended Even now an analysis will show that writers who are not good scholars in Sanskrit use more Sanskrit loan words in Malayalam than the real scholars Sanskrit has permeated the different strata in society, including Christians and Muslims and the Hindus belonging to the backward communities The Nampūtiri dialect contained less Sanskritic words than the dialect of the *ampalavāsi* communities

Till recently there was a convention in many of the aristocratic and Brahmin families that the pure Malayalam words referring to the birds and beasts should not be used early in the morning, but the corresponding Sanskrit terms should be used instead *aja, gaja, vāyasa, śuṉaka, aśva,* etc The Nampūtiri boys, after their *upaṉayaṉa* initiation, had also certain restriction in the use of Malayalam, the well-known joke about Tōlan calling out *paṉasi daśāyām pāśi* as a Sanskritized form of *cakki pattāyattil kayaṟi* (The maid servant Cakki has entered the granary) is indicative of this convention In the dialectical variations based on region and community historical events have had a role to play In the Travancore area where in the language school Sanskrit was taught, the spoken language is found to contain more Sanskrit loan words than in the northern region, and the pronunciation is nearer to bookish language, in the dialects in the Cochin and Malabar areas, words are uttered with great speed leading to the elision of many sounds The Muslim language contains more Urdu and Arabic loan words, and the Palghat dialect contains more of Tamil loan-words, especially the Tamil Brahmin dialect

11 7 In Literature

ntūṭṭānṭo paṟeṉe (' what are you saying) is clearly a Trichur Christian speech *kyippaśśanṭo* is typically a Nair speech from

Shoranur – Ottaapalam area *okkattilla varattilla* etc are in the Travancore dialects By analysing the regional elements in the works of Kuñcan Nampyār, it is possible to know where he wrote a particular *Tullal* work The Nampūtiri dialect of Central Kerala has been preserved in works like *Atukkalayilninnarannattekkə* by V T Bhattatirippad, the Ernad Moplah dialect is fully utilized in the works of P C Kuttikrishnan alias Uroob, the Nair dialect of South Malabar is exemplified in Chandu Menon's *Indulekha* The normal style of C V Raman Pillai is rather Sanskritized, though the words of some low characters preserve their dialectic peculiarities The astrologer community of Panikkar used Sanskritized language in their professional language, but switched on to their own dialect in everyday life The popular joke about *Panikkattiyār's* code-switching is telling One day when customers came to see Panikkar his wife repeated the sentence she had been taught by him "*panikkar vireca-naṯṯinnāyi auṣadham pāṉam ceytu śayyayil sukhamām vannam śayikkayānə*" One of the cnstomers asked her '*nnəttə panikkattiyāre*'? (Then what happened?), Automatically came the prompt reply ' *naittə'mni tūṟi* (Then had several loose motions)

The Tamil Brahmin Palghat dialect is found fully exploited in Malayattur Ramakrishnan's novel *Vērukaḷ* The Christian dialect of the later half of the 19th Century can be seen clearly preserved in the *Maṟiyāmma nāṭakam* Even now some of the cinemas give a realistic picture of different communities, preserving in tact their dialects – especially the Nampūtiris and the Muslims But the steam roller of modern civilization tends to remove all the dialectic variations and produce a sort of standardized language But distinctions between the standard dialect and the colloquial, the formal and the intimate are bound to continue A careful examination will show that there is difference in language even on the basis of politics In the same way a literary gathering will have its own peculiar features with special words, though the term dialect is not used to their speech

12

K. M. GEORGE

Proverbs, Idioms and Place Names

12 1 Introduction ·

The history of Malayalam language, more particularly its origin and early evolution, is still shrouded in disputed theories and conjectures, partly owing to the paucity of early literary documentation and partly because concerted and intensive research has not gone into the relevant areas having available materials. Language is a historical heritage, the product of continued social usage, Hence cultural expresions of society like proverbs, dioms and place -names have a special relevance in the study of linguistic evolution as they are conditioned by the inherent features of the concerned languages.

Proverbs have been defined as the integrated formulae of the vast and variegated experiences of the mass-mind The 'mass' here may mean not only village elders and wise men, but old ladies and ordinary folk Aphorisms and maxims also come under the same general category, but with a slightly different shade of meaning They are pithy sayings with a general bearing on life

By idioms we mean a specific character of language as expressed in a succession of words The import of the idiom is not obvious through knowledge of the individual meanings of the constituent words, but only through familiarity with the genius of the language Idioms form the very life and soul of a language There is some connection between proverbs and idioms as idiomatic expressions are quite common in proverbs and aphorisms

Place -names however are a different category altogether They are words of special value, historical, linguistic, anthropological and ethnological They have several stories to unfold, not all of them in the some way

In order to focus our attention on the lacunae and the weak points in the researches made so far, it is necessary to project an over all picture of the language scene, recognizing the various contributory elements In the evolution and growth of cultivated languages, two distinct layers are discernible the 'lower layer' and the 'upper layer' The lower layer is usually referred to as the spoken or colloquial language It is actually the language of ordinary life, the language of the kitchen, the farm and the market, which is a must for all This indeed is the 'core language' the base of the communication system without which normal human life is not possible

The upper layer' involves a higher region of communication, bringing in some aspect or other of cultured life It is sometimes referred to as the literary language, but a more precise term would be 'recorded language' In every language this layer

develops later than the lower layer The recorded language comprises four categories

(i) The Language of Administration This is the language of the ruling class, of governmental administration and courts Old examples are found in inscriptions

(ii) The Language of Worship The prayers and songs used in worship show a somewhat stylized and mixed dialect These dialects have evolved in the precincts of churches, mosques, temples and mutts

(iii) The Language of Knowledge This is the language of the learned class, the scholars and pundits In works on philosophy, science and grammar we come across this category of language

(iv) The Language of Literature This is a highly evolved and ornate dialect of the poet, the writer of creative talent *Manipravāla* and *Pāttu* schools are good examples

A language which satisfies the needs of the lower layer need not necessarily be competent to answer the needs of the upper layers The upper dialects have all evolved from the core language which is really the older and has the basic structure Proverbs, idioms and place-names have, by and large, emerged from the core language Hence, their study is vital and significant in the reconstruction of the early period of the language The field is practically virgin and beset with difficulties of various kinds This paper, therefore, is only a preliminary exposition

12 2 Proverbs

We have already defined the word, proverb But there are allied terms like 'old sayings', aphorisms, etc The most popular Malayalam word is *paḷamcol* which means 'old saying', though it is used as a synonym for proverbs as well Other terms are *sadṛs'avākyam*, *āptavākyam*, etc The main point to

be noted is that a large number of these sayings are very old It should, however, be noted that more such sayings and aphorisms have been added in the recent past too

In all the major languages of India, we have collections of proverbs a few of them with their English equivalents In Malayalam too there have been some attempts in this direction Among these the following publications are noteworthy

(1) Basel Mission publication from Mangalore containing about 1200 proverbs

(2) Malayalam-English] *Palamcollukal*, compiled by Karunakaran Nair and published by Vellamkulam Book Depot

(3) The compilation ed by Pilo Paul containing over 2500 proverbs

(4) A Manuscript of 107 pages kept in the Oriental Manuscripts Library at Madras which contains about 1000 proverbs

(5) *2001 Palamcollukal*, compiled by Rev K T Chakkunny

(6) *Patinayiram Palamcollukal* compiled by the same author

(7) By far the most comprehensive compilation is by the concerted efforts of P C Kartha entitled *Palamcol Prapañcam* first published in 1966 A revised and enlarged version brought out by him in 1977 is a very valuable publication for researchers and other serious students of this branch of learning

P C Kartha has been able to collect nearly 10,000 proverbs (9944 to be precise) We may take it that even this is not an exhaustive collection, but certainly a very useful one which has proved that concerted efforts will pay dividends Before Kartha took upon himself this job, Velayudhan Panikkaseri had brought out a compilation entitled *Patinayiram Palamcollukal* though he had included only 8800 Sister languages like Tamil, Telugu and Kannada also have collections which indicate the existence of about, 10,000 proverbs in each language

Kartha's work contains a usefel preface and a few appendices which are even more useful Appendix (I) A compilation of comparable proverbs in the languages Malayalam, Tamil, Kannada, Telugu, Hindi and English (II) An Index of *nyāyās* in Sanskrit with their equivalents in Malayalam (III) A Subject Index (IV) A bibliography of publications on the subject

Though Kartha has not carried out any full-fledged research throwing light on the linguistic aspect of the proverbs in Malayalam, the work he has done, especially the identification and listing of comparable proverbs, is a useful groundwork

Proverbs throw a lot of light on the traditional culture of the community speaking the language The fauna, the flora and the landscape in general will figure in several proverbs There will also be references to the places of worship, the rituals, the art of battle, agriculture, trade and other occupations, festivals and places of significance If proverbs are carefully categorised under such headings profitable studies can be made

One of the most rewarding field of study will be a cross-sectional investigation based on languages A large percentage of the proverbs are old, some of them have come from a stage before the language had evolved a system of recording However, it should be noted that the form in which the proverbs exist in common parlance, do not necessarily exhibit their earlier linguistic structures Some phonological changes must have happened during the transition from generation to generation Even morphological modifications cannot be ruled out All the same, it should be borne in mind that sufficient vestiges of the old form of the language would remain even in the modified form enabling us to get a glimpse of the early structural pattern And quite a few must have withstood the ravages of time It is particularly so because a very large percentage of the proverbs do possess specific rhythms and attractive rhymes Normally the modernising trend would not affect factors like rhythm and rhyme as that would spoil the innate grace and charm so natural to the proverbs

As proverbs reflect the experience of the mass-mind and as human nature is the same everywhere, it is only logical that there is a common element in a good proportion of the proverbs irrespective of the region from which these have emerged and the languages in which they are couched We may consider this as a universal phenomenon But, undoubtedly, there will be regional features in almost all proverbs, reflecting the culture of the respective areas and the idioms in which the ideas have been expressed Just as the various regional cultures reflect a common denominator which we call the national culture, we can easily identify a common national element in the proverbs of the many languages of a nation

To illustrate this point we can cite a few examples

(i) *poubē gayē cchubbehōṉē dubē gōkar ōre naghar ghaṉā ghāṭka* (Hindi)

(ii) *nampi kaippillaye koṭuttatu* (Tamil)

(iii) *atuppilē tiyum pōyi, vāyile tavitum pōyi* (Malayalam)

Though the basic idea in these proverbs is the same, each language expresses the experience in its own way Here is an example having an Indian emphasis

(i) *jahām guḍ hōgā vaham makkhiyām hōgim* (Hindi)

(ii) *tēn uṇṭāṉāl i teṭivaium* (Tamil)

(iii) *tēnevuṉṉa cōṭayigalu pōgavutavi* (Telugu)

(iv) *eṉṉakkuṭattiṉu cuṟṟum eṟumpu* (Malayalam)

A general comparative survey of the proverbs in the four major Dravidian languages Tamil, Kannada, Telugu and Malayalam reveals three major categories (1) Proverbs which have the same ideas and the same kind of expression, but only the language is different, (2) Proverbs which have the same ideas, but different manner of expressing the same, and (3) Proverbs which have no resemblance either in ideas or in expression All these categories are significant and hundreds of proverbs can be classified under each category

Keeping Malayalam as the base, Kartha has been able to sort out only 585 Malayalam proverbs having clear correspondences in ideas with proverbs of sister tongues The following have been identified as the equivalent proverbs in the three other languages

Tamil	348
Kannada	196
Telugu	248

The correspondence taking Malayalam as the base is roughly as follows Malayalam Tamil Kannada Telugu = 12 7 4 5 While this indicates closer link between Malayalam and Tamil as compared to those between Malayalam and Kannada, or Malayalam and Telugu, it should also be noted that out of about 10,000 proverbs in Malayalam Kartha has been able to identify only about 350 proverbs which are closely allied to Tamil Out of these, the number which reflects linguistic nearness is fewer still This throws considerable light on the independent development of Malayalam

The most important point in this paper is the extent of light the study of Malayalam proverbs can throw on the major question of the origin and early evolution of Malayalam language Scholars are generally in agreement as regards the close relationship of Tamil and Malayalam But the exact nature of 'Tamil Malayalam relationship' has remained a problematic and controversial area for well over a century The seminal statement made by Caldwell that Malayalam is a very ancient and much altered 'offshoot' of Tamil could neither be obliterated nor proved beyond doubt If Malayalam and Tamil originated from an earlier branch of Dravidian, when did they separate from each other and what contacts did they maintain later? These are questions which need detailed investigation and research

The living language is the spoken tongue (lower layer) and the various layers of recorded languages are purposeful extensions

of this living tongue Thus the main problem can be put in ordinary parlance in this manner What was the nature of the language spoken by the people of Kerala, say 1500 years ago? Was it a dialect of Tamil, similar to the Tamil spoken in Madurai, Tinneveli or Sri Lanka with minor regional variations? If so, the Tamil dialect of Kerala must have evolved during the last 1500 years on lines parallel to those dialects in Madurai and Sri Lanka But that is not what we find during the last several centuries We have a full-fledged independent language with its own distinctive features

A close examination of the old sayings in Malayalam also bears this out The vast majority of proverbs current in Tamilnadu are not in use here There are at least 10,000 proverbs current in Tamil Out of these about 350 have corresponding versions in Kerala Among them there may be about a hundred which are related linguistically also But this is an insignificant number in a multitude which runs into thousands

An examination of the apparently resembling pairs of proverbs in Tamil and Malayalam is bound to reveal their significant divergencies For instance, the Tamil proverb, *ukkāntallavō paṭukkaṇam* has the following equivalent in Malayalam *irunniṭṭē kālu nīṭṭāvū* The forms, *ippati* and *appaṭi* as found in the Malayalam proverb, *ēṭṭil ippati payaṟṟil appaṭi*, obviously sound as Tamil, but here again the Tamil equivalent is deviant *palḷikkanakku pullikkutavātu*

Furthermore, the Malayalam characteristic features, namely, nasalization, palatalization and the *ai* > *a* change which are being referred to as exclusive historical innovations are not corroborated in the proverbs, as a sizeable number retain the Malayalam features in tact It is possible, however, to argue that the forms which have come down to us would have undergone the changes through oral transmissions across generations But, how could we imagine that the old traces have

been totally wiped off from them? A more pertinent factor is the absence of pronominal terminations in the finite verbs of Malayalam proverbs. Therefore, a more profound and detailed study of Malayalam proverbs, perhaps, would validate the contention that Malayalam branched off from its proto-stage independently like Kannada and Telugu, without having a stage of coexistence with Tamil.

12.3 Idioms

The art of expressing ideas in a catchy and compact manner naturally brings in the idea of idiomatic expressions. Idiom is an expression peculiar to a language conveying a distinct meaning. It reflects the genius of the language. The idoms are words or phrases without a sentence structure. Idioms occasionally go contrary to the generally accepted rules of grammar. Not only the special characteristics of a language, but also its growth will be reflected in the idioms. There are two collections of idioms in Malayalam.

(1) *Śailipradīpam* (1967) compiled by Vatakkumkoor Rajaraja Varma.

(2) *Malayāla Śaili Nighaṇṭu* (1937) compiled by T. Ramalingam Pillai.

On a rough estimation, there are about 15,000 idioms enlisted in the above works.

Generally speaking, idioms are not easily transplanted in a new language. However, some idioms do cross the barriers between languages, particularly when the languages are in long and intimate contact with one another. Thus *cāyakkōppayile koṭuṅkāṟṟu* 'storm in a tea-cup', *ākāśakkōṭṭa keṭṭuka* 'build castles in the air', etc. are obviously imported from English into Malayalam (see George, 1972: 30, 31, 253-255 for more details). Despite the prolonged contact the number of such transcreated idioms is less than a hundred.

The number of idioms that are common to Tamil and Malayalam are more for obvious reasons There are some idioms which are borrowed from Sanskrit like *manasā vācā karmaṇā*, *gajasnānam* and *kukkuṭastanyodayam* (*koḻikku mula varuka*) However, without a detailed study on the subject, it would be premature to draw definite conclusions

There are thousands of Malayalam idioms which reflect the culture of the region Even a cursory glance will reveal that they could not have originated in other areas A few examples are given below

(i) *ampāṭan ālappuḻaykku pōyatupōle*
(ii) *kāyamkulam vāl*
(iii) *uḷla kaññiyil pāṟṟa viḻuka*
(iv) *ceṇṭa koṭṭikkuka*
(v) *paṭayaṇi tuḷḷuka*
(vi) *cuṇṭaykka koṭuttu vaḷutaṉañña vāññikkuka*
(vii) *cakkiṉu veccatu kokkiṉu koṇṭu*

About 95% of the vast collection of about 15000 idioms is germane to Malayalam pure and simple Their phonology and grammar are typically Malayalam A detailed investigation will bear useful results which will aid us in the study of the evolution of the language

12 4 Place-names

The science which relates to names in all their aspects is called 'Onomastics' That which deals with place-names is called 'Toponomastics' or 'Toponymy' in popular language Place names are words of special value – historical, linguistic, anthropological and ethnological

Each place-name has a story to tell, not all of them in the same way, some are old, some are recent, and some are more significant than others The problem pertains to the difficulty in discovering those stories concealed behind the place-names We come across fossilized representations of an immemorial

past in place-names Our present task is to discuss certain peculiarities of the linguistic structures of the Dravidian place-names with special reference to Malayalam

Many place-names allow various interpretations and because language has changed considerably down the centuries it is very difficult to reconstruct the old forms and the basis for their present nomenclatures In several cases fanciful etymological explanations have been offered Since a good number of place-names preserve the archaic features of the language in full or in fragments, it becomes necessary to deal with them from a phylogenetic point of view A proper analysis of place-names can, therefore, be conducted only against the background of the historical evolution of the language In many cases, stems, affixes, morphophonemic alternations and ways of compounding which are not recorded elsewhere are found existing in place-names as retentions of the pre-literary stage of the language The toponomical study, hence, contributes to various branches of language study, like lexicography, dialectology, phonology and principles of word formation

The structure of place-names falls into two categories, 'monolexical' and 'multilexical', the latter being more in number than the former In regard to the segmentation of multilexical forms, opinions vary in many cases For instance, the name *Tiruvaṉtapuram,* accrording to some scholars, consists of three elements, *tiru* (< *śrī*), the prefix, *aṉanta* (the name of the celestial serpent), the stem and *puram* (< *pura* 'habitation'), the suffix We can, however, consider the same as consisting of two functional elements, namely, (a) the substantival element *puram* and (b) the adjectival element *tiruvaṉanta*

In a large number of cases, instead of personal names, we have descriptive adjectives These adjectival elements usually have a special determining quality and hence they may be termed 'specific elements' or 'specifics' The other portion, normally, indicates 'genus' or 'class' and hence they may be

called 'generic elements' or 'generics' For instance, in *Tāṟṟipuram* and *Paḷḷikoṇṭapuram,* the ultimate lexeme, *puram* is a generic term and those preceeding it are the specifics

The specifics fall into nine broad types as exemplified below:

(1) DESCRIPTIVE NAMES

(The specifics denote descriptive attributes)

ceṅnaṉṉur	—	(*cem* + *kunnu* + *ūr* = 'red - hill - village')
Puṉalūr	—	(*puṉal* = water)
Nīnṭakara	—	(*nīṇṭa* = long)

(2) INCIDENT NAMES

(An incident at the place making it memorable)

Vijayawāda	—	(*vijaya* = victory)
Raktapura	—	(*rakta* = blood)
Dhaṉuvaccapuram	—	(*dhaṉu* = bow)

(3) POSSESSIVE NAMES

(The idea of ownership forms the basis of this category)

Taṭṭārampalam	—	(*taṭṭān* = goldsmith)
Ṭāṟṟāpuram	—	(the place belongs to the Tatas)
Agasara Kallu	—	(*agasa* = washerman, *kallu* = stone)

(4) COMMEMORATIVE NAMES

(Names given in honour of a dignitary come under this type as in Leningrad)

Kēśavadāsapuram

Jawahar Nagar

(5) EUPHEMISTIC NAMES

(Names bestowed with the idea of making a good impression or establishing favourable auspices)

Mangaḷappuḻa	—	(*mangaḷam* = prosperity)
Pūntōppə	—	(*pū* = flower, *tōppə* = farm)

(6) FABRICATED NAMES

Cotton Hill	—	(from *parutti* = cotton, *kunnə* = hill)

(7) SHIFT NAMES

(These result from the shift of the specific from one generic to another in the vicinity)

Vatapalani	—	(*vata* = north)
BelaKola	—	(*bel* = white, *Koḷa* = pond)

(8) MISINTERPRETED NAMES

(Often this happens on account of mishearing or misinterpretation of an obsolete or foreign word)

Tiruccirappalli	—	Trichy
Kōvai	—	Coimbatore

(9) MISTAKE NAMES

(These arise from failure in transmission, either oral or written)

Ambiṭṭan bridge	—	Hamilton bridge (*ambittan* = barber)

The origination of the last three categories is unnatural and hence they are not as valuable as others, especially for linguistic appraisal

Once established firmly, place-names cling with great pertinacity and survive However, they are subject to change of form, certain sounds are dropped, some get shifted and stress is sometimes transferred Occasionally, mutilation takes place in such a manner that the original form cannot be easily reconstructed Some of the important changes are given below

(1) CHANGE OF AFFIXES

giri	>	*ger* (*Munger*) / > *gu* (*kodagu*)
ksētra	>	*chatra* (*Ahichatra*)
palḷi	>	*poḷi* (*Tirucciṟapoḷi*)
pura	>	*pūr* / *ūra* (*Māyūra*)

(2) ELISIONS

nagara	>	*Nār*
ayōdhya	>	*Audh*
mangalavūru	>	*Mangalūru*

(3) CHANGE OF CONSONANTS

gere	>	*kere*
tripadī	>	*Tirupati*
pādi	>	*vāḍi*
paḷḷi	>	*halli*

(4) METATHESIS

dehali	>	*Delhi*
bāranāsi	>	*Benāras*
agasara	>	*Asagara*
mahrātta	>	*Mārhaṭṭa*

The above examples only indicate the nature and variety of changes They are by no means exhaustive When the investigation is carried out more exhaustively, a more comprehensive picture will emerge

A comparative study of the forms occurring in genetically related languages is a great help in tackling problems of interpretation What is found difficult in one language can be solved on the basis of information from another language For instance, the place-name *kuttanāṭu* is a well-known agricultural area consisting of several villages in Kerala and the name consists of two words, *kutta* and *nātu* *nātu* is a popular generic term in all the four languages, Tamil, Telugu, Kannada and Malayalam But *kuṭṭa* presents some difficulty for Malayalam The usual meaning for the word, 'basket', is unsuitable in the context The meaning of *kuṭṭa* in Tamil, namely, 'pond' (signifying a low-lying area with stagnant water) seems to be appropriate here The same meaning is preserved in Kannada also *kuṇṭe* > *kuṭṭai* > *kuṭṭa* 'watery area' Similarily the generic terms, *paṭṭi* and *kuṟicci* (also *kuruśśi*) occurring in several place-names of Kerala are not referable to their

ordinary meanings in Malayalam, viz 'dog' and 'name of a variety of fish' They can be easily related to the corresponding Tamil meanings, viz 'hamlet' and 'hilly region'

In a vast majority of cases, generics appear as suffixes, and specifics as prefixes However, there are cases when generics appear as prefixes also as in examples like *Ūrakam, Karamaṉa, Pallippāṭṭu,* etc

In a study conducted by the present author, 236 generics have been identified in the major South Indian languages Among them those with high frequencies are only about 20 These high frequency generic terms are given below

TAMIL

ūr, ēri, karai, kuppam, kulam, kunṟam, kōṭṭai, kōtu, kōvil, ceri, tōṭṭam, nakaram, paṭṭi, palli, pālayam, puram, mankalam, mala, vayal, viḷai

MALAYALAM

āṟu, ūr, kara, kari, kal, kātu, kāvu, kunnu / kunnam, kulam cēri, taṟa, nātu, palli, pāṟa, puram, puḷa, bhāgam, mangalam, mala, muṟi

KANNADA

iśvara, ūru, kaṭṭe, kallu, kere, kēri, koṇda, koppa, koḷa, kōṭe, grāma, paḷḷi / haḷḷi, pāḍi, palya, pura, ballu, bagilu, mādu, maṇe, male, samudra / sandra, hole

TELUGU

ābād, ūru, ēru, kumta / gunta, koṇḍa / goṇda, kanḍiga, gaḍḍa, gūdem, ceruvu / cerla, pattanam, palli / balli, pādu, pālem, puram / varam, peṇṭa, pēṭa, madugu, mala, vamka, valasa, vāgu

The very nature of the generics is, as indicated above, that several specifics are added to each of them A few examples of place-names ending in the generic *kātu* are given below .

Āṇikkāṭu	(*āṇi* < *ayaṇi* < *āñjili*)
Paṇaccikkāṭu	(*paṇacci* a kind of ebony)
Kaḷḷikkāṭu	(*kaḷḷi* 'cactus')
Ceṭṭikkāṭu	(*ceṭṭi* 'a merchant class)
Paṟayankāṭu	(*paṟayan* 'a low caste')
Kīrikkāṭu	(*kīri* 'mongoose')
Pūḻikkāṭu	(*pūḻi* 'fine sand')
Neṭumankāṭu	(*neṭuman* 'long stretch of land')

We have here as specifics names of plants and animals, caste names and words describing the nature of the land

In the natural evolution of place-names, the generics were the first to appear When a place of habitation is to be named, usually it will be described with one word indicating its location or its general nature When such words multiply, it becomes necessary to differentiate both of them and the most natural way is to add an adjectival element showing some special characteristic

The commonness of the four languages in respect of a significant number of generics is an aspect worthy of notice Equally significant is the distinctive quality of each language and the manner in which each differs from the other In what follows the interrelationships among the four literary Dravidian languages in respect of the common stock of generics are presented It should be mentioned that the analysis is based on the 236 items found in the data collected by the present author The picture that emerges may not be as precise as we would expect it to be, nonetheless, the analysis could reveal a close approximation of the interrelationships among these languages

Total number of generics 236

(1) Common to all four 53

(Ex *āru* / *ēru*, *il* / *illam*, *kāṭu* / *gāḍu*, *kuṭi* / *guḍi*, *koṭṭai* / *kōḍa*, *puram* / *pura*, *vayal* / *bayalu*)

(2) Common to three

(a) Tamil – Malayalam – Kannada 44
(Ex *akaṃ, aṭi, kari, kōṭi, valli / baḷḷi*)

(b) Tamil – Kannada – Telugu 15
(Ex *adri, mutukku, mantai*)

(c) Tamil – Malayalam – Telugu 5
(Ex *ūṟṟu, kōvil, tōppu*)

(d) Malayalam – Kannada – Telugu 5
(Ex *cēṟu, naṭa, paṭiññāṟu / padamara*)

(3) Common to two

(a) Tamil – Malayalam 27
(Ex *aḷi, ōram, tali, viḻa*)

(b) Tamil – Kannada 4
(Ex *aṉai, āvi, vāyil / bāgilu*)

(c) Tamil – Telugu 6
(Ex *turkkam / durgam, pulam, laṅka*)

(d) Malayalam – Kannada 8
(Ex *kai, kōl, cāl, taṟa*)

(e) Kannada - Telugu 22
(Ex *angi, kamba, jāla, rāyi / are*)

(f) Malayalam – Telugu nil

(4) Generics found in one language only

(a) Tamil : 13
(Ex *curam, tāl, paṇṇai*)

(b) Malayalam 7
(Ex *oli, kārānma, tāḷam*)

(c) Kannada 12
(Ex *agaḷu, kunda, kuṇase*)

(d) Telugu 15
(Ex *api, koṭṭala, cēṉu, vāyu / vāka*)

(5) Overall interrelationships.

(a)	Tamil	—	Malayalam	: 129
(b)	Tamil	—	Kannada	: 116
(c)	Malayalam	—	Kannada	. 110
(d)	Kannada	—	Telugu	: 95
(e)	Tamil	—	Telugu	: 79
(f)	Malayalam	—	Telugu	: 63

Since the generics in place-names are the basic elements which could be supposed to have resisted historical changes in relation to other linguistic forms, the interrelationships of generic kinship as found in the above can well be construed as reflecting the interrelationships of genetic kinship among these four languages in the Dravidian family

13

S. VELAYUDHAN

Early Christian Contribution to Malayalam Prose

13 1. Introduction :

That Christians, foreign missionaries and indigenous priests, have contributed to a substantial degree to the development of Malayalam prose is a fact of literary history. The nature, the quality and the impact of the Christian writings in Prose of the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries have been variously assessed Early Literary historians who had but inadequate access to these works have accorded them a good-hearted recognition more for their historical and linguistic importance than for their literary merit. During the last fifty years almost all the known works have got reprinted and with this has begun a reappraisal. A general tendency evident in recent writings is to hold up the early evangelical writings in Malayalam as the

'real' beginnings of Prose in the language Objections have also been raised to these being labelled *Pātirimalayālam*, 'Missionary Malayalam', *nasrānimalayālam* and the like on the ground that the tone of these expressions is pejorative A useful distinction may be drawn between the terms, *pātirimalayālam* to mean evangelical writings of foreign and indigenous priests and 'Missionary Malayalam' to mean those that are authored exclusively by foreign priests who came as missionaries to this country The third term might stand for a wider variety of writings, evangelical and secular, written by men of religious as well as secular avocations If *pātirimalayālam* as a useful descriptive term is still considered objectionable one might probably use the term 'early Christian writings' The aim of this paper is to look into available evidence and to reiterate the points (a) that Malayalam did have a tradition in literary prose, contemporary samples of which are equal, if not superior, to the evangelical writings in literary and linguistic sophistication, (b) that the evangelical writings are important contributions to the further development of prose as an instrument of social communication, (c) that the evangelical and indigenous literary traditions in prose share several features in common, (d) that the unique features in grammar, lexis and usage in the X'ian writings are traceable to the linguistic and regional background of the writers and the nature of the themes and (e) that a happy confluence of these two traditions came about by the middle of the 19th century, i e in about 250 years after the emergence of the first written document in the Christian tradition, The Canons of the Synod of Diamper (1599)

13.2 The Landmarks

The landmarks of three centuries (1600–1900) of X'ian writings may be grouped as follows for convenience of study

SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

(1) *Udayamperūr Sūnahadōsinte Kānōnakaḷ* (1599)
(The Canons of the Synod of Diamper)

(2) *Rōsinṯe Niyamāvali* (1606)
(The Laws of Rose)

EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

(1) Hortus Malabaricus (1696-1763)
(2) *Vedatarkkam* (1768)
(3) *Samkṣēpavēdārtham* (1772)
(4) *Ñānamuttumāla* (1784)
(5) *Varttamāṉappustakam* (1786)

NINETEENTH CENTURY

The works of Rev George Mathan, Arch Deacon Koshy, Rev. H Gundert, Fr Gerard and others and the periodical publications of the latter part of the century

13 3 Linguistic Features of Early Christian Prose

The historical and socio-religious compulsions that led to the Synod of Diamper are well documented in English and continental languages and in Malayalam Some observations on the language of the Canons-general comments in literary histories and specific linguistic comments in short articles-are available The following features are based on the scholarly edition of the two texts published by Scaria Zacharia in 1976 It may be mentioned here that the latter work was printed for the first time in this edition It was first published in 1606 and was in force till the St Thomas Christians revolted and swore an oath on 3rd January 1653, before the Koonen Cross in the Churchyard at Mattancherry, to expel the Jesuits and to be rid of their spiritual overlordship Both these works are written in *ārya eḻuttu* incorporating letters for Sanskritic sounds Zacharia makes the following observations on the script used in writing these two works

(1) There is an attempt to write Malayalam scripts like those of Tamil The letters for 'ka' and 'ta' bear close resemblance to their counterparts in Tamil

(2) Though vowel duration is phonemic in old Malayalam also, the distinction between the short and long /e/ and /o/ is ignored The letters representing /e / and /o / are seen in these works, but they are not used in the proper places

(3) The crescent sign, which is an innovation in the modern script, is not used

(4) For long /ı /, in addition to the modern symbol, the earlier version ‘ഈ’ is also used, very sparingly though.

(5) The letters representing /nta/ are written with a double ‘ഠ’, i e ൻഠ > ൻഠഠ That this was a feature of 16th and 17th century scribal tradition is attested by these works as well as the translation of the *Tirukkural* (1595)

(6) The conjunct consonants ‘ക്ഷ’ and ‘ന്വ’ are written in two ways

ക്ഷ—ഠക്ഷ

ന്വ—ഠവ

(7) The doubling of ‘മ’ and ‘പ’ is effected as ‘വ’ is doubled in current practice

വ+വ—വ്വ
മ+മ—(one letter below the other)
പ+പ—(one letter below the other)

(8) The symbol for aspiration / / as in ‘ദുഃഖം’ is often found missing, it being treated as optional

(9) Conjunct letters with /r/ as the first member are written as we do now, i e മാക്കം—മാർക്കം

(10) The ‘y’ glide in word - medial position is left out, as in

ബൊധിപ്പിക്ക—not ബൊധിപ്പിയ്ക്ക
പള്ളികൾ—not പള്ളിയ്കൾ

Some of the important sound changes observed in these two works are noted below

a) VOWEL CHANGES

aviṭe—auṭe
cavuṭṭāte—cauttāṭe
kaccavaṭam—kaccoṭam
pravṛtti—prorttı
dravyam—drevyam
appan—appen
oṭayavan—oṭeyavan
agatı—akutı
kıṭakkunnu—keṭakkunnu
aviṭe—avuṭe
mutal—motal
sukham—sokam/soham

b) ANAPTYXIS

ōrtta—ōratta
samsāram—samusāram
maryāda—marıyātı
amśam—amıśam

c) ELISION OF SOUNDS

hōmam—ōmam
rudhıram—utıram
ātmāvu— ātmam
vastavam—vāstam/hīstam
vılttı—vıttı
ēlkkuka—ēkkuka

d) OTHERS ·

bhārya—bhāryāva
bhaktı—bhaktıma

e) CONSONANT CHANGES

stutı—sudī
hetu—hedu
vicāram—vıjāram/viśāram
vıkārı—vıgārı

ādi—āti
mārgam—markkam
daṇḍam—ṭeṉṭam
caraṭa—śaraṭa
pustakam—pusthakam
sthāṉam—stāṉam
uyaram—ekaram
cuvaṭa—cukaṭa
śavam—cakam
śabdam—śattam
ōhari—ōkari/ogari / ovakari
kāṭam—kāśam
piḷa—pisa
sādṛśyam—śātiriyam
vilasi—veḷasi

Lexical borrowings from Portuguese and Syriac are found in these works, as it is to be expected While the Portuguese ones have gained currency in and acceptance into the common language, borrowings from Syriac are mostly confined to the liturgical language of the Christians Here are a few examples

(Portuguese)

kattolikka, kuriśu, pātiri, pāppa, kāsa, kaṭudāsa, viññu, kumpasāram, kadera (kasēra), tūvāla, cerippu, prākku

(Syriac)

kūdāśa, rūhākkudāśa, sliva, sliha, mahạron, kurbāṉa, evangeliyon, kandisa, caittān, kaśiśa, rampān, malpān

A few words and expressions which have a special significance to the Marthoma Christians, as listed by Zacharia, are given below

teṟuka	—	'repent'
paṟaññokkuka	—	'give one's word'
orimpāṭa	—	'communion'

erappunamaskāram	—	'prayer in the form of begging'
perunnāḷ	—	'church festival'
upavi	—	'charity'
kattanār	—	'priest'
karuntala	—	'generation'
kettupāṭa	—	'alliance'
kaiyyālikkuka	—	'to hand over'
camayappura	—	'vestry'
cāvadōṣam	—	'mortal sin'
pāpadōṣam	—	'venial sin'
talappatta	—	'important'
pattakkāran	—	'priest'
pokkuka	—	'absolve'

Syntactically, these two works follow closely the basic Dravidian patterns, but occasionally there are sentences, constructions that do not conform strictly to the norms of modern prose style Considering the odds which the translators of the Canons and the Laws had to contend with, one marvels at the dexterity with which they had forged their medium for the expression of ideas alien to it It is also contended that the syntax of these works is least influenced by Syriac and that Portuguese and Latin might have influenced it Whatever alien influence there is, however, is inconsequential considering the wealth of vigorous prose they contain A few instances of the unique features of construction in these works are given below

vāṇibham caikāte irikka nallū (C S D V. 10)

'It is good not to engage in trade '

aṉantaravarekkonta enkilum atiṉe tekappān āyitṭa oḷḷavarekkoṇṭa cnkilum tekakkaṇam (C S D VII 28)

'Complete it either with nephews or with similar folk '

tampurāṉṟe tirumumpil nalla kolam ennum taṉyakolam ennum accaṉum cerukkaṉum ennum eḷiyavaṉum periyavaṉum ennum illa

ata entai ? ellāvarkkum otayavaṉum tampurāṉum tān āyatiṉekkoṇṭu (C S D VII 2)

'Before the Lord there is no distinction between the high and the low, the master and the slave or the humble or the proud Why is that? Because He is the Lord and Master of all '

Deviant use is seen in the placement and ordering of adjectives

kūdaśa saitta paḻayata—for *paḻaya kūdāśa saittu*

ceṟiya otukkatte paṭṭam—for *otukkatte ceṟiya paṭṭam*

The verbs *'kūṭuka'*, *'pōkuka'* are used with less common meanings, as in,

kuṟubāṉa kūṭiyāl—'when the Kurubana ends'

suṟiyaṉi pōkunnavar—'those who know Syriac '

13 4 18th Century Works

The works of the 18th century like the *Vēdatarkkam* (1768), *Samksēpavedārtham* (1772), *Varttamānappustakam* (1786) and a few others show a definite improvement in the language Of these the linguistic features of *Samkṣepavēdārtham, Varttamānappustakam,* Peanius's 'Alphabetum Grandonico—Malabaricum' as well as the early 19th century 'Jacobite Syrian Gospels' (1811) are discussed by L V Ramaswami Aiyar in detail A more exhaustive and rigorous study of the syntax of these works is bound to yield very useful data for the syntax of the prose of the period

Of these works, *Varttamānappustakam* has received accolades from all quarters Historically, it is the first travelogue in the language Apart from its intense personal style of narration its socio-religio-political significance has been underscored in recent observations Krishna Chaitanya writes 'Thoma's book is no mere record of ecclesiastical negotiations It is a fascinating narrative, full of shrewd observations, vivid descriptions and deeper mediations The graphic and sensitive descriptions and

the speculations that sometime accompany them make the work a most delightful travelogue as well as an interesting study of customs and manners Thoma used prose with suppleness and felicity, but with no conscious sense of craftsmanship or evaluation of the possibilities of his medium' (Krishna Chaitanya, 1971, 207–209) Achyuthan Unni and Samuel Chandanappalli (1967) in their introductory essay to their publication of extracts from this book have carried forward the linguistic study of it already made by LVR with additional data and comments on the lexis, usage and syntax

13 5 19th Century Works

When we come to the 19th Century we see the prose style firmly established along modern lines The contributions of periodical literature, and the book-length works and essays of Rev George Mathan, Archdeacon Koshy, Rev H Gundert and Fr Gerard are significant landmarks in the later evolution of Malayalam prose George Mathan (1820–70) was capable of critical appraisal and was very optimistic about the possibilities of the language Krishna Chaitanya's translation of Mathan's observation on Malayalam is worth quoting 'When the features of Malayalam are considered, it is seen to be capable of matching any language in beauty and force The grammatical modifications of the words are easy to grasp, sentences can be built up without confusing complication, slight phonetic variations of the forms can express fine psychological nuances of meaning It is ideally suited for humour and has proved its capacity for sustained descriptive narration and subtle and profound discussion ' Mathan was not theorizing on the possibilities of the language for the benefit of others He practised it and proved himself to be a writer of excellent prose He was a prolific writer on scientific and religious and moral themes His *Satyavādakhēṭam* (1861), a treatise on the nature of truth won a state award Its Baconian style is marked by an engaging simplicity, the narration throughout is sprinkled with amusing anecdotes Its short and crisp sentences and

simple diction with no effort at sounding profound at the expense of clarity are features seldom excelled even after a century I quote below Krishna Chaitanya's translation of a brief passage from this treatise 'Speaking the truth is natural to man, utterance of lie unnatural When infants learn to talk, they never show an instance of having one thing in mind and talking something altogether different They spontaneously and truthfully express what they feel within It is only after some years go by and they pick up the wiles of the world that they begin to tell lies'

Rev H Gundert's prose compositions deserve special mention in any historical assessment of the evolution of modern Malayalam prose His style is also simple and matter of fact Sentences with implied finite verb, unusual collocations and grammatical terminations as well as archaic-sounding expressions are found in Gundert's prose Fr Gerard's *Alamkāraśāstram* (1881), a treatise on Malayalam rhetoric is the first work of its kind Its style is free from archaisms and it is nearer to modern prose than anything written during the closing decades of the last century

13 6 Conclusion

It is an unfortunate error of judgment on the part of Keralavarma Valiya Koil Tampuran about the sensibility of his readers that led to the perpetration of the monstrosity of the opening paragraph of his *Akbar* This stylistic accident has been used as a stick to beat not only him but Malayalam literary prose of the period as well Keralavarma did write much better and simpler prose, he was conscious of the artificiality of highly Sanskritized diction and cumbersome syntax What we find in the closing decades of the last century and at the beginning of this century is the emergence of a vibrant prose style which was no exclusive preserve of any particular sect of writers but which was the result of a confluence of different stylistic strains

14

P. V VELAYUDHAN PILLAI

Evolution of Modern Malayalam Prose

14 1. Introduction .

Society becomes meaningful only when it communicates. And a major part of this communication is made through the medium of prose. Therefore, a study of the evolutionary history of prose in a language depends, more or less, directly on the dialectical forces that mould the society. Development of modern prose in Malayalam also does not betray this rule

As is well known, nineteenth century is an age of enlightenment in the history of Kerala. That Kerala was limping towards modernity during that century is a historical problem yet to be studied in detail. A conscious effort for 'change, an intellectual awareness among the literati and an excited enthusiasm

in the field of culture had set in during that period This was not only the case in Kerala but also throughout India Myriads of factors, internal and external, contributed to this change Christian missionaries who diffused the spirit of the Gospel through the length and breadth of Kerala played a very decisive role in bringing about this renaissance A cultural upheaval in any country will definitely have some direct bearing on the development of the prose style in the language of the country because prose is the natural medium for communication, more rational and more popular than verse In Kerala also, as the inflow of new ideas increased by the religious discourses of foreign missionaries, prose acquired better expressiveness and greater popularity

A mere impact of the Christian missionaries on the society in Kerala would not have brought about this momentous change, had they not come from a renascent Europe which was boiling with a thirst for intellectual life The spirit of this renaissance in life had been carried to Kerala, though in small doses, by them A quest for enquiry into the hitherto unknown and a new rationale of life let loose a tempest in the imagination of the people of Europe during renaissance and this injected courage into the adventurous among them to go out in search of new landscapes Thus the Portuguese, the Dutch, the French and the English dared piloting to India through the sea one after another

In 1498, the Portuguese landed in Kerala at Calicut We do not deny that they had 'a crucifix in one hand and a sword in the other', as the Governor of Goa has observed But their arrival in Kerala had something more far-reaching than he observed It shook tremendously the foundation of the quasi-feudal society, shattering mercilessly our decadent beliefs It is a fact that the Portuguese came here with a view to contracting trade with the country along with the diffusion of their faith Unlike the Syrian Christian missionaries from the Nestorian Church of Persia who arrived at Malabar coast in the 9th

century along with merchants, the Catholic missionaries were much concerned with the faith of the people as well In 1502, more Portuguese priests arrived here and they started missionary work As a first immediate step for easy communication with the people of Kerala they began learning the native tongue It is worth noting here that most of the missionaries did learn the language of the common man and not the language of the gentry They preached in the dialect of the village to the rank and file In 1542, Francis Xavier arrived here and preached the gospel in the rustic dialect of the lower class He studied Tamil and Malayalam and brought out books in Tamil

14 2 The Functional Prose :

Here, one may raise a relevent question As prose is the natural medium of communication among the people, did Malayalam not have this communication medium in writing before the advent of the Portuguese? Yes, Malayalam had it developed during the 12th century itself We come across at least a dozen prose texts written before the 15th century Most of them are Puranic stories supposedly written for a minority which formed a feudal society centering around temples *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇam*, [illegible] and *Dūtavākyam* are a few examples of such texts Apparently, it was the practice of that period to render Puranic stories in prose (*pāṭhakam*), intended for discourses in temples by a Hindu community called Nambiars In fact, *pāthakam*, the exposition of puranic stories in speeches on the dais of temples laying stress on Hindu morals, was itself a kind of missionary work This had an educative value and this naturally helped spreading Hindu faith Ceremonial Bhrahminism was the force behind this temple performances They established their supremacy over the erudite minority connected with temples The prose that was popularised by them was purely functional rather than imaginative This prose style could not necessarily survive long since poetry which is more imaginative and emotional superseded the former

14 3 The Christian Prose

When the Catholic missionaries began their work in Kerala, Malayalam had only this functional prose which was, most probably, understood by a minority as pointed out above The majority did not have any prose literature worth the name So the missionaries started writing prose for the mass, spreading the message of the New Testament and Catholic doctrines They used the dialect of the people, especially their colloquial vocabulary, with a view to capture their sympathetic understanding Their philanthropic approach to human problems also attracted the mass towards them But at that time, the work of the missionaries was not co-ordinated since they belonged to different ecclesiastical orders of different countries in Europe They lacked sufficient political or administrative backing

In the 16th century itself seminaries and grammar schools for children on European models were started in Kerala by the Catholic missionaries A seminary for Syrian Christians was started by them in 1541 at Koṭuṅṅallūr The Jesuit priests opened a seminary at Cēnnamaṅgalam in 1545 and also a school for native children at Koṭuṅṅallūr Another college was started by them at Cochin in 1585, and it is clear from the Portuguese records that there were about 300 students studying in this college This necessitated writing books in vernacular for the use of children The missionaries took up the challenge and ventured writing about the teachings of Christ in Malayalam and later some text-books for the use in primary classes also. In 1599, under pressure of the Portuguese, the Christian leaders in Kerala had been asked to assemble at Udayampērūr (Diamper), and in the assembly, certain decisions were taken binding the faith and practices of the Christians in Kerala The report of the Synod was originally written in Suṛiāni and Malayalam The Malayalam version was prepared by one Chacko, a native priest of Palluruthi This prose, consisting of the Decrees of the Synod of Diamper, is a landmark in the history of modern

Malayalam prose The Malayalam version might contain the dialectal jargon of the speech of Chacko and his associates It is to be specially noted here that the prose written by the missionaries working in different parts of Kerala contained the dialectal variations of each region because the dialects spoken by the common mass were not standardized then as now The variations were essentially in vocabulary and idiom.

14 4 The Printing Presses

As the missionaries wrote books, they felt the need of propagating them Therefore, they introduced printing press in Kerala which was the most powerful machinery for modernisation [illegible] the world. The Jesuits started a press at Goa first and then at Cochin which was transferred later to Koṭuṅṅallūr. Printing accelerated the change over from poetry to prose The introduction of paper and the printing press not only did away with the age-old difficulties in mass education, but also provided a new impetus and momentum to prose composition Prose grew with an added momentum Many religious texts were translated into Malayalam by Fr George Castro Malayalam types were made in Rome in 1772 and *Saṃkṣēpavēdārtham*, the first book in Malayalam was printed there I do not forget here that we come across with some Malayalam words found in print in Hortus Malabaricus itself which was printed much earlier than *Saṃkṣēpavēdārtham* As printing became the practice of the day, missionaries, both native and foreign, began to produce books They wrote not only books on the gospel but also books on Malayalam language Dr Angelo Francis of Verapoly wrote the first grammar of Malayalam which was mainly intended for the low class dialect, while Fr Arnos (Johann Ernestus Hanxleden) compiled the first lexicon of Malayalam The Promethean gift of the printing press by the missionaries to Kerala released and gave free play to forces which at once enfranchised thought and revolutionised literature, and took directions and acquired an amplitude hitherto undreamt of

14 5 Later Developments

Nineteenth century witnessed multivarious activities in the missionary world in Kerala Different religious denominations of Christians commenced organised work supported by foreign agencies L M S was started in 1806 in South Kerala, C M S in 1816 in Middle Kerala and Basel Mission in 1839 in North Kerala Col Munro was the British Resident in Travancore State at that time and he took active interest in the propagation of Biblical faith Thus the missionaries found a prop in Munro in the field of administration He encouraged the missionaries in starting educational institutions and translating religious books Scholars like Benjamin Bailey, Herman Gundert and Buchanan were in the field They did the maximum they could to propagate the Christian faith through the native tongue Lexicons and grammatical texts were written This lofty example was faithfully followed by native Christians rather more effectively The prose style of George Mathan, a contemporary native priest, who wrote profusely, excels in simplicity, clarity and expressiveness His grammar of Malayalam is famous even now. At this juncture the State Government also generously came forward to encourage learning of the native tongue The Government of Travancore announced an award for the best essay in prose and Fr George Mathan won it Thus Malayalam prose was gradually rising to the occasion to contain nascent ideas originated by the impact of a foreign culture on the native culture

14 6 The Fourth Estate

The Fourth Estate also was first instituted by foreign missionaries in Kerala *Rājyasamācāram* was started by Gundert in June, 1847 and *Paścimōdayam* in October, 1847 This was most encouraging for the development of prose since journals were intended mainly for popular reading unlike erudite books. By the starting of *Vidyāsangraham*, a journal by the C M S in 1864, Malayalam prose began to show signs of maturity. These

activities of the Christian missionaries did not fail to excite and energise a creative urge among the native men of letters and to impel them to adopt and assimilate similar methods in order to improve and enrich their language and literature, particularly in prose

14 7 Text Books in Secular Prose

Thus the stage was set It was by accident that the mantle of leadership fell on Kerala Varma Valiya Koil Tampuran Born in a royal family in Travancore in 1845 and educated in Sanskrit in the traditional style, Kerala Varma had become one of the greatest Sanskrit scholars in India of that time But in his 22nd year in 1867 he was nominated by the King of Travancore to the newly constituted Text Book Committee for preparing books in Malayalam for vernacular schools Even before this the Government of Travancore had had plans to start such schools in order to spread general education to the mass and some such schools were already started This is actually a positive response to the challenge put forth by the missionary groups Missionaries had established schools mainly to propagate their ideas about religion, especially about christianity The schools started by the Government were secular in nature By being on the Text Book Committee, Kerala Varma had to prepare books in secular prose for use in those schools He himself wrote texts for Standard I, II & III containing graded lessons in prose He also prepared books on Economics, History, Politics, Mathematics, Geography and Morals In collaboration with the King Viśakham Tirunāl, he compiled a volume containing biographies of eminent people He translated the novel 'Akbar' It was for the first time in Malayalam that an organised experiment to utilise prose as a medium for propagating modern ideas began Kerala Varma succeeded commendably well in this venture

Most fortunately the King Trio of Travancore–Āyilyam Tirunāḷ, Viśākham Tirunāḷ and Mūlam Tirunāḷ had largely

extended all kinds of support to the system of vernacular learning initiated by Kerala Varma The kings were extraordinarily tolerant towards modern European ideas As has been pointed out in the case of George Mathan, their Governments had been giving encouragement to prose literature

Kerala Varma's personal efforts for the development of Malayalam prose are incomparable He introduced new forms in prose literature, the fiction, the prose dramas and the essays, all through his text books and translations These literary genres were new to Malayalam readers at that time Kerala Varma gave all possible help to start forums for public speaking in schools and literary societies and libraries were organised for making people feel the great change that is taking place in literature He was the patron of *'Bhāṣāpōṣini Sabha'*, perhaps the first literary organisation in Kerala, started along with the journal *'Bhāṣapōsini'* The main purpose of the Sabha was to give guidance in literary writing and to add momentum to the growth and development of Malayalam literature Under the auspices of *Bhāṣāpōsiṇi*, eight committees consisting of scholars of specialisation from Travancore, Cochin and Malabar were constituted for scrutinising newly written books before publication Of course the final judgement in this regard was that of Kerala Varma The committee gave special attention to stanardization of language and style in order to suit the taste of all people all along Kerala Perhaps Kerala Varma had achieved more planned progress in language than what had been achieved by Ram Mohan Roy in Bengali language

14 8 Journals

The role of journals in the development of prose deserves special investigation and study Before 1900 there were about two dozens of popular journals extant Articles published in these journals displayed the variety of interest shown by writers and readers Thus Malayalam prose could assume the status of a powerful medium to contain the fast spreading modern

secular ideas That is why by the end of the 19th century Kerala Varma observed that the Government should begin using Malayalam as the correspondent language at least in the lower level of administration Considering the above services rendered by Kerala Varma to Malayalam prose, the author of the Travancore State Manuel aptly called him the 'Father of Malayalam Prose'

14 9 Conclusion

In short, foreign missionaries sowed the seeds of modernity in Kerala They revolutionised our thoughts and ways of life Social structure began to show signs of fast change This dynamics of society necessitated the emergence of a lively medium of expression Thus the age of modern prose commenced in Malayalam A man of imagination and dedication like Kerala Varma Valiya Koil Tampuran was there to take up the challenge The challenge was effectively responded and prose of information and prose of imagination developed side by side The imaginative writings in prose gradually reduced the significance of the so-called poetry-cult in Malayalam and established itself supreme by the second half of this century. The national movement throughout India, the reformation movements and political uprisings in Kerala shaped prose into a sharp weapon in the hands of the common man Thus prose became the language of democracy and our identity is now mostly sought through this medium by our intellectuals

15

N. RAJASEKHARAN NAIR

Development of Auxiliary Verbs

15 1. Introduction :

Malayalam grammars do not seem to have given adequate attention to the auxiliary function of verbs. *Līlātilakam* is silent about this aspect of grammar. Gundert, Mathan and Rajaraja Varma have made some attempts to describe this phenomenon in their grammars but not in a manner highlighting the syntactic and semantic peculiarities of auxiliary verbs. The early Tamil grammars, expecially *Tolkāppiyam* and *Nannūl,* do not make explicit references to this class of verbs (Thinnappan, 1980). Ilampūraṇar and Naccinārkkiṉiyar, while commenting on *sūtra* 728 of *Tolkāppiyam* have treated *vēṇṭum* as a main verb without referring to its auxiliary function. ' Whether Tolkāppiyar had the concept of auxiliary verbs or not, it is certain that he

considered *pōtalvēṇṭum* as a wellknit unit and it behaves differently from expressions like *cāttan ōtal uvakkum*" (Agesthialingom, 1973)

The treatment of auxiliary verb system presents some problems to a learner of the language, to a lexicographer and, to a greater extent, to the grammarian One significant factor regarding this class is that, unlike other major word classes, auxiliary verbs constitute a 'closed' category That is why in some Malayalam grammars the auxiliary verbs have been listed indicating that a small number of verbs are to be distinguished from their main-verb function when they appear differently along with some other main verbs Although some grammars have listed the auxiliary verbs, the list given in one text does not tally with the one given in another

The primary function of auxiliary verbs is to establish specifiable relations between 'propositions' and 'participants' of the speech act Here, 'proposition' refers to the event / action expressed by the main verb in a sentence In other words, the auxiliary which is attached to a main verb, gives some additional information regarding the 'manner' of the action, the 'intention' of the speaker in respect of the action and / or the 'time dimension' of the action

In this paper we propose to examine the development of auxiliary verbs in Malayalam through the ages In the following section auxiliaries occurring in various records from 10th century inscriptions to contemporary Malayalam have been listed chronologically The items relating to older records have been collected from published and unpublished Ph D dissertations a list of which is given at the end of the paper (The meanings of the auxiliaries can be specified only with reference to their appearances in particular contexts Hence we give only the forms without indicating their meanings Since we are mainly concerned with the development of forms, the meanings need not be specified in the present context)

15 2 Auxiliaries through ages :

A INSCRIPTIONS

I 10th Century

(i) Intransitives

āk, iru, untāk, ul (ol), tutank, paṟṟ, vā (varu)

(ii) Transitives

it, kāṇ, kuṭu (koṭu), kol, cey, paṭ, viṭ, vēṇṭ, vai, rakṣiccu—koṭu

II 11th Century

(i) Intransitives

āk, iru, il (> illai), oṭṭ, kūt, cel, varu

(ii) Transitives

arul, iṭ, koṭu, konṭuvā, kol, taru, vai

III 12th Century

(i) Intransitives

āk, arul, il (> illai), iru, ul (oḷ), okk, kūṭ, cel, paṭ, pō (pōk) vā (varu), vēṇṭ

(ii) Transitives

aruḷ, koṭu, kol, tā (taru), nōkk, paṇṇ, vēṇṭ, vaṭ

IV 13th Century

(i) Intransitives

āk, iru, ol, cel, paṭ, vā (varu)

(ii) Transitives

aruḷ, it, koṭ, koḷ, vai

B LITERARY TEXTS

I *Rāmacaritam* (12 C)

(i) *arul, iru, muṭiyum, vai, it, iṭ, irikk, āk, kūṭ, koḷ,*

(ii) *petuka* is used frequently to make verbs from nouns *poṭi–peṭuka, taṭa–peṭuka* Only in one place it is used to denote passive *ninnālviratam ceyapetta piḷa*

(iii) Verbal nouns with *–al* (as in Tamil) and *–ām* is possible *aṟiya–al–ām, unartt–al–ām*

(iv) *illa, illā, ila, illa, alla, allā, arutu, ollā* and *vēṇṭā* are used as auxiliaries to show negation *āmalla, karutilla, tirittila, karutarutu, karutuvatalla, varollā, aṟivilen*

(v) Some peculiar negative forms *arutām arutāyiatu, illayākki, vārā, vārāta, illāyum, illākki, illām*

(vi) Permissive *–ām,* Imperative *–atte*, Compulsive *–vēṇṭum*

II *Anantapuravarṇanam* and *Vāsudevastavam* (Early *Maṇipravāla* works)

(i) Auxiliary verbs after verbal participle *iṭ–āṭiṭṭu, ir–ātiyirippōr, kol–aṟiññukol, arul-kitannaruḷum, kaḻiy–pōnnukaḷiññu, nil-naṉniniṉṟa, pō–koṇṭupōy*

(ii) Auxiliary verbs after relative participle *māṟu-keṭu-māṟu, vāṟu–koṉṟavāṟu, vanṉam–toṭumvaṉnam*

(iii) Auxiliary verbs after verbal nouns *ām/āk–kāṇalām, peṭu–piṭipeṭṭa*

III *Rāmakathappāṭṭu* (15th C)

(i) *kol, aṭṭu/oṭṭu/iṭṭu, ām, ēnam/aṉam/vēṇam, āk, vēṇ, kūṭ, āṭ, iṭu, ēlk, pet, it, cey, viṭu*

(ii) *māṭṭ* is also used as an auxiliary *vitamāṭṭēn*

(iii) The defective verbs *alla, illa/illai, olla, aruḷu* are also used as auxiliaries

IV *Kaṇṇaśśarāmāyaṇam* (15th C)

(i) Non-negative auxiliaries *ā/āk, ākk, āṭ, iṭ, īṭ, uruv, ēl, kol, peṭ, petutt, māṟ, viṭ*

(ii) Negative auxiliaries *ā/āy, āt, ātt, āmal, āññ*

(iii) Defective negatives as auxiliaries *alla, illa, olla, arutu*

V. *Mahābhāratam* (16th C)

(i) Aspect *var, iri, iṭ, vay*

(ii) Modals *pō, kūṭ, vēṇ, koḷ, uṇṭ*

C GRAMMARS

I *Malayāḷabhāṣāvyākaraṇam* (1851)

(i) Transitive auxiliary verbs *koḷ, iṭ, iṭ, vekk, viṭ, kaḷa, koṭu, teri, aruḷ*

(ii) Intransitive auxiliary verbs *iri, pō, var, pōr, kūṭ, kaḻiy, tir.*

II *Malayāḷmayuṭe vyākaranam* (1863)

āk, uṇṭu, iri, āka, venṭu, kaḻika, kūṭ, mēl, vahikka, kollu, vekka, iṭ, kaḷeka, pō, tar, koṭu

III *Kēralapāṇiṉiyam* (1895)

koḷ, iṭ/iṭ, vekk, viṭ, u ṭ, pōṭ, kaḷa, koṭ, tar, aruḷ, iri, pō, var, pōr, kūṭ, kaḻi, tir, cama

D CONTEMPORARY MALAYALAM

ām, āk, aṭṭe, vēṇam, vēṇṭa, illa, arutu, kūṭ, al, koḷ, iṭ, vay, kal, koṭ, tar, iri, vā, pō, pōr, kūṭ, kaḻi, cēr, tir, paṟṟ. okk, sādhikk, paṭu, mēla, mōkk, kāṇ, āyiri, konṭiri

15 3 Some inferences

It could be seen from the data presented in the above section that there is a progression in the number of verbs used as auxiliaries Equally significant is the fact that certain archaic uses of auxiliaries have become obsolete in later years *peṟār* (10th C negative auxiliary meaning 'prohibition'), *cel* (11th C) *paṇṇ* (12th C), etc can be cited as examples for the above It is also noteworthy that all those forms which have the

auxiliary function in contemporary Malayalam can be traced to old records occurring as main verbs Another notable feature is that certain Tamil usages prevalent in early inscriptions and works like *Rāmacaritam*, like *muṭiyum aṟiyalām*, *vēṇṭum*, etc have disappeared as a natural consequence of the language shedding off its pre-formative forms As mentioned earlier, some forms listed as auxiliaries are taken from descriptive analyses of old texts The [illegible] of certain forms as auxiliary verbs (ex *māṟu*, *vāṟu*, *vanṉam*) is questionable

In the development of auxiliary verbs, semantic change plays an important role When a 'content word' (here, the main verb) is shifted to the position of 'grammatical word' (here, the auxiliary), there necessarily has to be some meaning change We can see such meaning changes in the case of Malayalam auxiliaries also In respect of most of the shifts from main verb to auxiliary verb, it can be seen that the meaning change is from 'concrete' to 'abstract' For instance, *iri* as a main verb means 'sit' in Malayalam The auxiliary meaning is 'perfect', 'stative', etc Sometimes the auxiliaries get further reduced to the use as functors' in which case they will be semantically less specific In the case of the form *iri* such a transformation seems to have taken place It has the use merely as a tense carrier at least in certain constructions Here, the forms should be considered as mostly empty in their denotative value

The materials for the above survey have been taken from the following Dissertations and grammars

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